

Inter-America

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE



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JUNE, 1918

NUMBER 5

ANNOUNCEMENT

THE purpose of INTER-AMERICA is to contribute to the establishment of a community of ideas between all the peoples of America by aiding to overcome the barrier of language, which hitherto has kept them apart. It is issued alternately, one month in Spanish, made up of diversified articles translated from the periodical literature of the United States, and the next month in English, composed of similar articles translated from the periodical literature of the American countries of Spanish or Portuguese speech.

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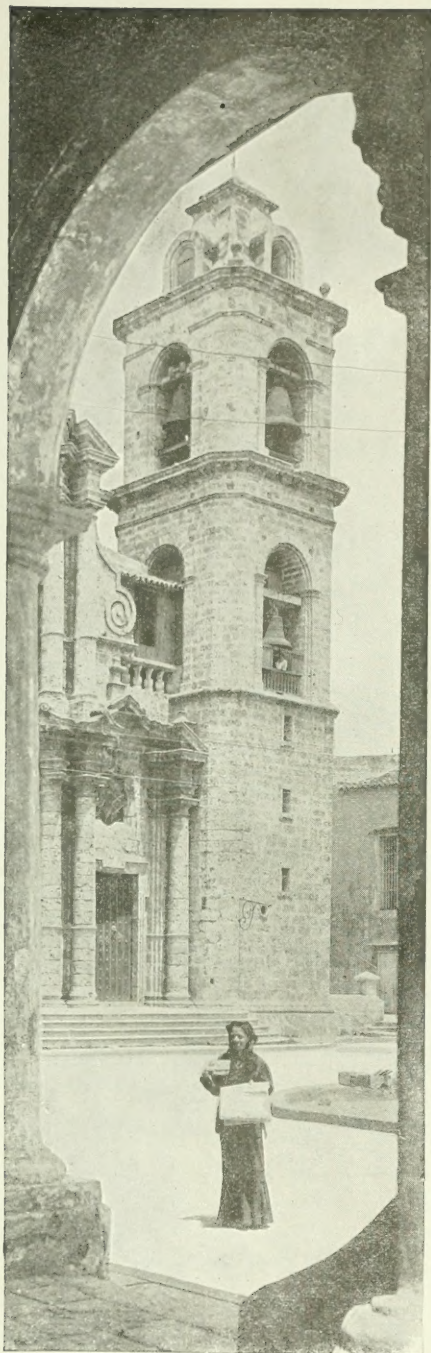
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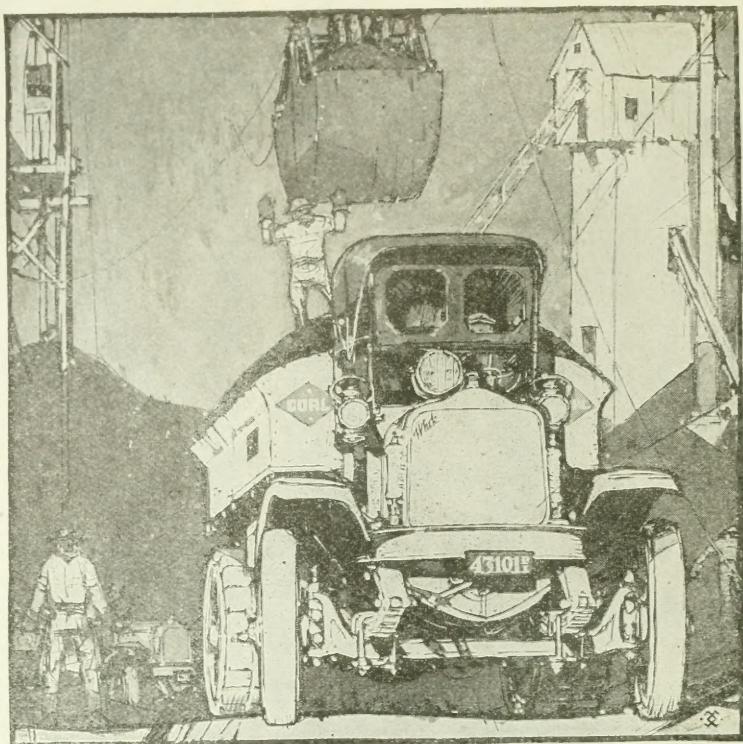
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BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

REGARDING THE AUTHORS OF THE ARTICLES THAT APPEAR IN THIS NUMBER

M. CASTRO R. is a Salvadorian juriscult and the justice for El Salvador in the Central American court of justice.

JOSÉ INGENIEROS is an Argentine physician, philosopher and man of letters, a professor in the facultad de filosofía de la universidad de Buenos Aires, the director of the bi-monthly magazine, *Revista de Filosofía*, and the author of many works, among which may be mentioned the following: *La psicopatología en el arte*, *La simulación en la lucha*, *La simulación de la locura*, *Estudios clínicos sobre la histeria y la sugestión*, *Patología del lenguaje musical*, *Sociología argentina*, *Criminología*, *Archivos de psiquiatría y criminología*, twelve volumes, *Principios de psicología*, *Itinerario de la filosofía española*, *Al margen de la ciencia* and *El hombre mediocre*. The most widely known of his books is *El hombre mediocre*, which has gone through a number of editions, and has been read throughout the Spanish world. He is also the director of *La Cultura Argentina*, a "library" in which some thirty-five volumes by national authors have been published.

ENRIQUE JOSÉ VARONA was born in the city of Camagüey, Cuba, in 1849; for many years he has been professor of philosophy in the universidad de Habana, a position from which he has just retired; his works are *Conferencias filosóficas*, three volumes, *Nociones de lógica*, *Tratado de psicología*, *Desde mi belvedere* and *Violetas y ortigas*.

SALVADOR MASSIP is a professor in the instituto de Segunda Enseñanza, Matanzas, Cuba.

Jack the Ripper is the pseudonym of JOSÉ ANTONIO CAMPOS, an Ecuadorian journalist, man of letters and humorist, whose two books of national sketches, *Rayos catódicos y fuegos fatuos*, two volumes, and *Cintas alegres*, are unique in Spanish-American literature.

RICARDO PALMA, who may be regarded as the dean of Spanish letters in America, now in his eighty-sixth year, was born in Lima, Perú, February 7, 1833; in his youth and early manhood he spent much time traveling in Europe and the United States, and later he took a prominent part in politics, occupying important offices of the government until 1873, when he became director of the biblioteca Nacional and devoted himself exclusively to literary pursuits. Among his numerous works may be mentioned *Anales de la inquisición de Lima* (1863), *La Bohemia limeña de 1848 a 1860*, *Verbos y gerundios* (1879), *Tradiciones peruanas*, three volumes (1893) *Apéndice a mis últimas tradiciones* (undated, but published after 1909), and *Poesías completas* (1911).

JULIO VILLOLDO was born in Habana, Cuba, October 11, 1881, he was graduated from the universidad de Habana in 1907, he is a lawyer, the founder and editor of the monthly magazine, *Cuba Contemporánea*, a member of the academia Nacional de Artes y Letras, librarian of the Ateneo de la Habana, president of the asociación Cívica de la Habana and the author of numerous magazine and newspaper articles.

ENRIQUE RUIZ Guñazú is a professor in the facultad de derecho y ciencias económicas de la universidad de Buenos Aires; among his other publications, he is the author of the important historico-juridical work, *La magistratura indiana*, Buenos Aires, 1916.

Owing to distance and the present disturbance of international mails, it has not been possible to secure data regarding the other authors: ARTURO DE LA MOTA, ANTONIO CAÑAMAQUE, ENRIQUE HERRERO DUCLOUX and JOSÉ PACÍFICO OTERO.

THE CENTRAL AMERICAN COURT OF JUSTICE

BY M. CASTRO R.

A summary of the method of organization, purposes, scope, history and achievements of the Central American court of justice, written by one of the constituent justices; of special interest to the people of the United States, since one of its most famous decisions involves the question of the Nicaraguan canal route.—THE EDITOR.

THE republics of Central America—Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua—were born together into the life of independence, and they have been strongly united in the past, as they are in the present and as they will be in the future.

They maintain absolute independence among themselves, although their respective constitutions proclaim a desire for unification.

The governments of these countries, with the object of guaranteeing their rights effectively and of maintaining unalterable peace and harmony in their relations, without being compelled to have recourse to the employment of force in any case, signed in the city of Washington on the twentieth day of the month of December, one thousand nine hundred and seven, a convention that gave life to the Central American court of justice: a permanent tribunal constituted to settle all controversies or questions that might arise between the signatory states, whatever might be the nature and origin of the differences. Thus was compulsory judicial arbitration instituted in its most ample form, as neither the world conferences at the Hague nor the Pan American congresses have been so fortunate as to behold it established. Nothing is reserved from the competency of the tribunal. Under its arbitral jurisdiction fall questions of every kind, not even excepting those that touch upon sovereignty, national honor or what, in general terms, have come to be called "vital interests." The Central American court of justice has its seat in the city of San José, Costa Rica, and it is constituted

by five justices elected for a period of five years by the legislative authorities of each of the republics that gave existence to this juridical organization, the only one of its type in the world.

The respective agreement defines the competency of the court in the following cases:

1. Of all controversies or questions, whatever their kind and whatever their origin, that may arise between the republics of Central America, and which they engage to submit to it, in case their respective chancelleries shall not have been able to arrive at a settlement.

2. Of all the questions that the private citizens of one Central American country may initiate with any of the other contracting governments, through the violation of treaties or conventions, and in any other cases of an international character, whether their government uphold or not the said demand, and on condition of the failure of the recourses which the laws of the respective country provide against such a violation, or the denial of justice should be demonstrated.

3. Of the cases that arise between any of the contracting governments and private citizens, when by general consent they shall be submitted to it.

The court may in like manner:

1. Take cognizance of international questions that by special agreement any Central American government and that of a foreign nation may be disposed to submit.

2. Establish, upon the solicitation of either of the contesting parties, the condition in which they are to remain during the course of a pending suit, until the rendering of the final decision.

The court is not a political but a strictly juridical tribunal. It administers justice throughout a reclamation initiated by a legally qualified party, and after being in-

formed on all points of fact and law relative to the case. The "contradictory" suit being thus begun, the high party defendant has ample field for defense.

The justices are not political representatives of the governments, but "arbitrating judges" who proceed with independence, weighing the points of fact that are ventilated, according to their free judgment; and, with regard to the points of law, according to the principles of the international science. The court, in short, represents the "national conscience" of Central America, and the honor of the states is engaged in the observance of and respect for its decisions.

The career of the tribunal has been fruitful in benefits for the peoples of Central America. Thus, through its existence, peace has been maintained and many differences have been settled without the countries having had recourse to the employment of force. Immediately after its solemn inauguration, the tribunal took cognizance of the demand instituted by the government of Honduras against the governments of El Salvador and Guatemala, accusing them of violating the "rules of neutrality" during the civil war that had broken out in the first named of these republics. The suit proceeded through due course, and it terminated in the absolution of the defendant governments. The sentence pronounced obtained the respect and consideration of all Central America, and it is worthy of recognition because of the accumulation of juridical doctrines that served it as support.

During these last years the court has taken cognizance of two important demands: those formulated by the governments of Costa Rica and El Salvador against the government of Nicaragua because Nicaragua had celebrated with the United States a convention known as the Bryan-Chamorro treaty, by means of which the American government obtained a concession to open an interoceanic canal by way of the river San Juan and the Great lake of Nicaragua, and for maintaining and exploiting a naval station in the center of the gulf of Fonseca.

The government of Nicaragua was called upon to defend itself in both suits;

and the court in passing judgment declared that the treaty mentioned was prejudicial to the rights of Costa Rica and El Salvador.

On account of its great continental importance, especial interest attaches to the decision pronounced in favor of El Salvador, which established the principle that it is not legitimate for the government of Nicaragua to grant the concession for a naval base in the gulf of Fonseca, inasmuch as the latter belongs in common to the republics of Honduras, El Salvador and Nicaragua, and that it has, besides, the character of an historic bay, and that, because of its geographical position, it falls in the category of a "closed sea."

The finding declares the establishment of a naval base in the center of the gulf of Fonseca to be "menacing" to the national security of the republic of El Salvador, and it condemns the government of Nicaragua to the reestablishment of the state of law that existed prior to the celebration of the Bryan-Chamorro treaty.

Also many Central American citizens have contested before the court, making demands for violations of civil rights; and this aspect of the competency of the tribunal is worthy of the greatest attention, because it establishes the international character of an aggrieved citizen to make reclamation upon an infringing state.

Much significance of a political, juridical and moral character may be attached to the existence of the Central American tribunal, which, besides being an exponent of the ideals of peace and justice, represents the noble effort of five sister nations, who aspire to solve by themselves their differences in order to maintain unimpeachable the treasure of their economy, and to be worthy of the dignity of countries conscious of their destiny. In 1918 will terminate the ten years of the existence of the Central American court of justice; but the governments of El Salvador and Costa Rica, convinced of the imperative necessity of maintaining this institution, have solicited the concurrence of the sister nations in order to agree upon the prorogation of the convention that created the high tribunal.

THE SENTIMENTAL PERSONALITY

BY

JOSÉ INGENIEROS

A sprightly psychological disquisition on love, in which the author uses such extreme types as Goethe's Werther and Byron's don Juan, and such artificial ideas as those expressed in the dialogues of the *Symposium* of Plato, as foils for what he presents as a rational interpretation of the phenomena.—THE EDITOR.

LUCRETIUS, dissertating upon "the nature of things," sees in Love a supreme law, noble and cruel, magnificent and fearful, which brings face to face with pleasure the melancholy of pursuing an ideal without ever achieving it. A law of laws, without a doubt. It is normal that one or more episodes of love should complicate every human existence; it is sufficient to see what a sterile and absurd life is that which has never been fevered by this sentiment.

Regarding it you already know the varied opinions of the philosophers, from Plato to Schopenhauer; and you must have read with benefit certain almost experimental essays, a kind in which Ovid and Stendhal were masters. Among all the manifestations of affective life, none of them is more studied. If one of them has discovered its roots in the instinctive tendencies, the other has described the emotions that follow the excitation of the sentiments: the latter has analyzed the way the amorous sentiment, properly speaking, is finally formed; the former has told us how the human imagination elaborates certain representations which are void of real contents. All, however—philosophers, wise men, artists—have coincided in pointing out two great temperaments of lovers: those who love in order to suffer, and those who love in order to enjoy. Werther, the pessimist, and the optimist, don Juan, may serve as types.

With much foliage of imagination and little rootage in the instinct, Werther is the victim of his incapacity to act at the opportune moment; the excess of mental rumination paralyzes him. Don Juan, with great vigor of instincts and slight imaginative frondescence, triumphs

always by his opportune tact and because in every desire of his there is a beginning of action. Werther rambles, don Juan executes; and—let there be no doubt about it—almost all those who say they venerate Werther, and hate don Juan, lie. You are acquainted with no man who prefers to be a Werther to being a don Juan; and every normal woman would rather be deceived by the latter than bored by the former. Because of his character of victim, Werther is much praised, like all inoffensive creatures; don Juan is envied, in his character of a constant vanquisher.

Look about you. All those who love possess one of these two temperaments: in some, the senses predominate; in others, imagination prevails. One is more a Werther or more a don Juan. We do not love as we wish; we love as we can. Every time a new love is born in a man, it is sure to have certain characteristics common to all the manifestations of his affective life. By observing how the sentiments flower, why they become transformed and when they die, it may be noted that in each individual, as the product of his inheritance and his education, a *sentimental personality* is formed naturally.

Every human being inherits at birth definite instinctive tendencies: the affectivity common to the species and the variations of race, society, family. The total of them constitutes the affective temperament, which is an initial predisposition to develop the individual sentiments in a certain way. The diversities of temperament reveal hereditary inequalities.

Sentimental education, in the broadest sense, is the continuous process of adaptation to the sentiments of others, in the course of the successive amorous episodes that form the experience of each individual.

The repetition of homogeneous loves creates true affective habits.

With a determinate temperament and education, a Werther or a don Juan comes into being. Sentimental experience is enriched by the succession of episodes of love; all the past episodes constitute a permanent basis for those that are to come. This means that, in a given moment of human life, sentimental personality is the confluence of all the episodes of love which have modified the native temperament during life. Therefore, in being loved, every lover reaps the result of those who preceded him, and he sows for those who are to follow him.

Let us use simpler language. There are unequal amorous aptitudes, due to temperament: tender and imperative, warm and impetuous lovers. There are differences of amorous education, according to the diversity of personal experience: coarse and refined, timid and audacious. Also there are variations of sentimental personality in the same lover, since in the successive episodes, besides varying its aptitudes and its education, the sum total is affected differently by the object of love, always diverse.

Sentimental personality is, in fine, the result of the variations of temperament by means of education. Temperament being different, there is always a certain "individual inequality" between personalities. Education being diverse, personalities tend toward "individual differentiation." Since education is incessant, each personality is the object of a constant "individual variation." Every lover loves in a different way at different periods of his life.

This chapter of the psychology of the sentiments would be incomprehensible if we omitted examining the *inequalities of temperament* that influence the formation of sentimental personality. How and why is love a warm glow in one, and in another a devastating cyclone, a picaresque delight or a desperate obsession, a chimerical dream of an insatiable appetite, an idealistic beatitude or a longing agitation? This sentiment, in truth, presents itself to us as a ray of light intercepted

by an individual prism, showing in varied colors a bow of infinite polychromy.

These diversities explain the differences of opinion regarding love. Affairs of sentiment, more than others, are colored by the glass through which they are seen—a very ancient observation, which did not escape the perspicacity of Plato. In his *Lysis*, the antiquity of which seems to be indubitable, he presents an animated picture of love, prelude to the erotic theory which he develops in his *Symposium*, a really magnificent dialogue and perhaps one of the most eloquent artistic expressions of the Platonic genius. You are acquainted with his argument. A select group of friends is gathered in the house of Agathon to celebrate the first success of the poet in the scene. Considering that so felicitous an event merits the highest homage, Phaedrus, who is of the party, proposes to suspend the sacrifices to Bacchus, and to send away the flutist, in order to devote the best reflections to the praise of Eros, the god of love.

It is sufficient to read the admirable Platonic interlocution to understand that the amorous sentiment, although formed in all men upon the basis of instinct, is modified in each of them by multiple personal factors.

According to Phaedrus, who opens the dialogue, love is the axis of all existence. He thinks like a youth: human desires and aspirations converge upon amorous passion. The sentiment of love springs from it; no stimulus equals it; all suffering is less bitter than the pangs of love. The lover blushes as much over a vile action in the presence of no one as over one in the presence of the person he loves. An army of lovers would be invincible. Phaedrus speaks with the feverish utterance of youth, as would be done by a man whose blood boils over the flames of a passion.

With the maturity proper to age, Pausanias replies to him, reproaching him with confusing two different kinds of love: one of them earthy and sensual, equally extensible to women and to ephebes; the other idealized, a strange combination of the intellectual with the amorous sentiment, one exclusively masculine, because

men are the most beautiful and intelligent beings of creation. Love appears here under an intellectualized form, serving as a guide to the moral and aesthetic sentiments, and tending toward the veneration of genius and virtue. Let us say, in passing, that the words of Pausanias reflect certain perturbations of sentiment inexplicable at another period. In "Greek love" we can see only a collective degeneration of the instinct, or a sickly orientation of the amorous sentiment.

Eryximachus, a physician and naturalist, then speaks, and he appeals to natural philosophy for his arguments. According to him, all that exists in nature incloses germs of love and tends to complement itself with its contrary: heat with cold, dryness with dampness, movement with quietude; in a word, love is the result of the "law of contrast" in nature, a law which many years later Goethe was to transmute into his theory of "elective affinity."

Aristophanes answers in terms of rude comicality, maintaining that love is "the union of likes." He invents to this end the humorous fable that mankind was composed primitively of three sexes, men, women and androgynes. The last of these were double beings, very agile, strong, proud to the point of menacing the sovereignty of the gods. The gods then decided to separate them into two, and since that epoch each half goes through the world seeking its complement, a burlesque hypothesis which the multitude translates by defining each man or woman as a "half orange,"¹ which lives with the obsession of finding the other half.

The extravagance of Aristophanes contrasts with the moderation of Agathon, in whose eloquence he shows himself as a worthy disciple of Gorgias. Love seems to him to be an exclusive sentiment of youth, delicate, tender, as foreign to age as it is to gross souls. He speaks as an artist and poet, with more wealth of imagery than profusion of ideas, falling, in concluding, into an overwrought mannerism of style, by means of which Plato purposes to criticize the rhetoricism fostered by the sophists.

In the mouth of Socrates, who closes this dialogue, Plato puts his own theory of love: love is inclination toward the beautiful and the good, the true being implicit in the good. To him it appears to be the most effective sentiment for the exultation of human virtues. A pure love, emancipated from the senses, leads to a search for the Beautiful and the True in themselves, freed of all perishable dross, bringing us near to the gods and to immortality.

When Aristophanes is about to reply to him, Alcibiades enters the scene: and, after eulogizing Agathon for his triumph, he delivers to Socrates that discourse in which Plato reveals himself as a splendid artist, seldom surpassed. You have read it, without a doubt.

In the *Symposium* and in the *Phaedrus*, the theme of which is the same theory of Platonic love, the concept of ephebeism dominates. It is proper not to refrain from saying that, in the presence of the normal movements of instinct, it remains as a veritable sentimental monstrosity.

This must be said: that the praise due to its esthetic value will never compensate for the grave criticism to which it is open because of its moral sense. Plato is, above all, a literary model; he is a model as a philosopher only for those who conceive of philosophy as a complicated art, rather than as a superior science. Ancient thought reacted very quickly against the absurd sentimental theory reflected in the Platonic dialogues. Plutarch, in his essay on love, returned to the true stream by proclaiming the excellence of conjugal love and placing the sentiment upon the natural basis of the conservation of the species.

This mention of the *Symposium*, as you understand, serves me merely as a means of placing in relief the fact that love is differently felt and thought of by each individual; that there does not exist "a love," but that there exist as many "ways of loving," as there are persons. In "love" common attributes are abstracted from the sentiments of all those who love. "Lovers," different by temperament, are the only concrete reality accessible to the study of psychology.

¹A Spanish expression corresponding to the colloquial English "better half" and "worse half."—THE EDITOR.

A diverse *sentimental education* tends to differentiate affective personalities from one another. "Illiteracy of heart" lasts but a short time in normal individuals. Maturity is announced by unmistakable manifestations: a desire to please the other sex, a defensive bashfulness in woman, a longing to conquer in man. Very especial circumstances, and, above all, a slow education, may prevent the sentimental experience from being acquired, and youth from being shaken by the gusts of love. In such cases amorous ignorance persists, and if it is prolonged after maturity, the individuals wander through the world like bodies without shadow, missing the route of their own affective destiny. Such cases are rare in women, very rare in men.

The formation of the amorous personality implies an extremely delicate elaboration. Conventional hypocrisy is wont to leave it to the hazard of chance, although all the advantages would be in favor of its rational discipline. A prudent education in love would prevent it from being for many a simple feast of the sentiments enslaved by instinct; and for others it might become an independent Platonic manifestation of their instinctive basis. Sensuality and chastity are two equally injurious anomalies because contrary to nature. "The senses do not conduce to love, but love without the participation of the senses is an incorporeal phantom," as Hartmann said.

Be what it may the desideratum of a good sentimental education, in practice experience acquires it empirically, and it goes on enriching itself unaided, in some persons more than in others. Each polarization of sentiment, each episode of love, leaves a trace, a footprint, which is recast and systematized into a synthetic image of the amorous experience: the ideal. Every love felt before serves as a pattern for a present sentiment, and converges toward the definitive result into which the sentiment is polarized, until it reaches a concord between the ideal and a reality that shall not contradict it. Therefore many old loves come together in the composition of a new love. The first love leaves a clearer trace, because it is more

simple, and is not complicated by other previous experiences; the later loves, in identical circumstances, are more and more simple, and their traces are inter-fused with the sentimental habits already acquired.

Excessive experience is not best for the sentimental education; it hinders the formation of an ideal. Therefore an age may be fixed in which the maximum consciousness may be reached of an ideal constituted by the course of experience. Balzac seems to have foreshadowed it in his divagations upon *Le femme de trente ans*, and it is unquestionable that in man the sentimental plenitude is generally perfect at the age of thirty-five. Before that age we are fragile butterflies attracted by every flame, without even suspecting in which of them we shall end by finally singeing our wings.

Let us say, to conclude, that at a certain age there is produced an involution of the sentiment, similar to the involution of memory, of reason and of all the mental life. Recent acquisitions are blotted out sooner, and there reappear more and more perfectly delineated the earlier experiences: the image of the first loves becomes more shining in old age, like the memory of the first friendships, the first successes, the first verses, the first hopes.

Sentimental education is thus the result of manifold essays. Every time a love springs up in us anew, we believe this shoot will be definitive, always erring with the same good faith, until experience becomes polarized of itself upon a stable ideal.

Before distinguishing qualitatively between a Werther and a don Juan, it is well to make clear that both belong to the category of great lovers, equivalent, in the affective realm, to those who are wont to be called geniuses and gifted in the intellectual realm. By their *capacity for loving* they stand out above the mass of common lovers, those of medium temperament, neither insensible nor impassioned, neither tender nor brusque, neither seduced nor seductive. For others, the amorous sentiment is an accident of the social obligation called matrimony, and some theologians teach that complying with this

duty love appears spontaneously. Of this singular doctrine women are the pre-dilect victims, they being thus exposed to becoming mothers without ever having loved their husbands. Flaubert gave us an extremely sad personification of sentimental mediocrity in the unhappy Bovary. Do you remember it?

He lives blandly in a sort of perpetual somnolence, vaguely satisfied with living until the day in which a profound wound initiates him in pain, first keenly and afterward dully, and through this wound trickles out drop by drop all his sap, and he will incline toward the earth gradually, until he lies down in it like a dried leaf.

The husband of the famous Madame is a vegetative creature, without intense pleasures or pains, without profound instincts, without delicate tendernesses, incapable either of sensuality or chimeras, and, as a climax, the husband of a Manon wrecked by not having found in time her knight Des Grieux.

Do not believe, however, that the señor Bovary is a contemptible personage; he is simply vulgar. Like him, there are thousands of tranquil husbands, incapable of sentiments that might compromise their only thoroughly defined longing, tranquillity. Beneath innumerable Bovaries exist the "sentimental dwarfs," imbeciles of the heart, the idiots. In them the incapacity for loving is absolute: they do not love, they can never love, as if they lacked the instinct which serves as a basis for the formation of the amorous sentiment.

Sentimental imbecility is less profound. The instinct exists, and it is manifested by tendencies; but the individuals are incapable of directing themselves toward the constitution of definite sentiments. They are not blind in respect of love, but they are myopics. Their incapacity for loving consists in the ineducatability of their tendencies, in the impossibility of polarizing them effectively. They are able to know the delights of the senses, because they possess the instinct; but they never succeed in feeling sentiments, because they do not know how to educate their native tendencies.

On a plane higher than that of these rudi-

mentary manifestations of the sentimental life, we find those who possess excellent aptitudes, and whose capacity for loving is proportionate to their education, varying from clumsiness to refinement. For these "intelligent lovers" the problem of sentimental education has particular importance, since the best aptitudes are worthless if they be not well directed from youth.

No one will deny that the same affective education produces different results, according to the individuals: along with the intelligent lover exists the exceptional one, of genuine talent. We are accustomed to say "that he has the hook;" he is capable of feeling and of producing great sentiments with equal effort.

At the summit are Werther and don Juan. It would be difficult for us to admit that there exist true geniuses of love, although Ribot teaches that affective geniuses exist. The extraordinary lover is lacking in social function; he is a mere individual phenomenon: a sublime love is of interest to the person loved, but not to society. Only in the case of organizing an education of the sentiment would these geniuses be the great representative models, the types presented to the imitation of those who are forming their amorous experiences.

Whatever be the capacity for love, another distinction as important as the foregoing may be made. When the instinctive tendencies are strong, as in don Juan, the dominion of the sensations over the manifestations is certain; love is experienced with all the organism, and it is felt as an expression of emotionality, as voluptuousness. On the other hand, when these tendencies are light, and the imagination predominates over the senses, love is felt cerebrally, as in Werther; and what impels to love is not the desire of possession, but the disquietude of a fixed idea that drives to suffering.

The proportion between tendencies and education would admit of establishing several *personal equations of love*, characterized by the equilibrium or disequilibrium, between instinct and sentiment. The extreme terms of the series would correspond to the abnormal forms, since

the exclusiveness of sentiment and instinct is equally contrary to the supreme ends of love. Although certain theological moralities present chastity as a virtue and voluptuousness as a vice, nature and life corroborate each other in recognizing that there is nothing more like the latter vice than the exaggeration of the former virtue.

This inequality of the sentimental personality we may typify in representative characters, excellent models presented to us by the great works of art, whose

psychological value exceeds even that of real observations themselves. Could reality offer us a type more characteristic of the imaginative lover than Werther, or an erotomaniac more absolute than don Quijote? Where could we find a personality of stronger amorous instincts than the primitive don Juan, or a more abject sensualist than Jaques Lantier? In Werther the imagination predominates, and in don Juan the senses. In don Quijote there is a delirious idea; the love of Lantier is simple emotionality.



THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY THE CHINESE

BY

SALVADOR MASSIP

A study, first, of early Chinese movements westward into India, Asia Minor and Europe, and, after the discovery of the properties of the magnetic needle, eastward along the Pacific and, as the author conceives he proves, into western America, with illuminating citations and a useful bibliography.—THE EDITOR.

I

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CHINESE AND ROME AND BYZANTIUM

FLORUS tells us that in the time of Augustus there came to Rome, after a journey of four years, ambassadors from the land of silk, demanding the friendship of Cæsar and the Roman people. This was the first contact between the great empire of the Orient and the great empire of the Occident. Although the name of Rome does not appear even once in their annals, the Chinese knew the power of the great Latin nation, which they called, although it may seem a paradox, *Grand China*.

With an inexplicable obstinacy, however, and persisting in the error of the first Chinese travelers who visited the West, they always mentioned the city of Antu (Antioch) as the capital of the Roman empire.

The annals of the dynasties of Han and Tsin mention and give account of embassies sent to China by Roman emperors, who must have been Marcus Aurelius and Alexander Severus. The Roman embassy sent to China in A. D. 166 seems to have made the journey by water; but the one sent at the beginning of the third century and that of 284 went, it seems, by land, taking the road from the Tower of Stone or Tashkend, a route which, according to Ptolemy, was the most used by merchants.

After these embassies, there passed a long series of years in which the Orient and the Occident seem to have lost sight of each other; but in the time of Justinian,

Cosmas¹ gives a vague description of a certain country situated very far toward the east, which might as easily be China as Siam or Annam, and some years later, Theophylactus² mentions the Chinese, their wars and the title of "celestials" which they applied to their sovereigns. About this same time (between 620 and 650) the Chinese, who had now been informed of the changes that had taken place in the Mediterranean world, ceased to call the nation of the West *Grand China*, giving it the name of *Fulin* (Polin), from *polis* (city), referring to Byzantium, in which Greek was spoken. In that period (the reign of the emperor Heraclius,³) China passed through a period of great activity. The conqueror Yang-Ti (who attempted in vain to reëstablish relations with Rome) triumphed victoriously over Tonkin, Siam and a great part of central Asia, and he received in his capital of Singangfu the envoys of the kings of the Occident, threatened by the conquering impulse of the Arabs.

The Chinese annals describe minutely the capital of Fulin. The length they assigned to the walls of Constantinople is almost the same as that given us by Benjamín de Tudela.⁴ In the Chinese

¹Surnamed Indicopleustes (the Indian Voyager), who flourished in the sixth century.—THE EDITOR.

²Theophylactus Simocatta, a Greek historian, born in Egypt about 570; died about 640: the author of a history of the reign of Mauricius, in eight books, among other works.—THE EDITOR.

³Born in Cappadocia, Asia Minor, about 575; died 671: the emperor of the East.—THE EDITOR.

⁴A Jewish traveler born in Tudela, Navarra, Spain, who died in 1173. An account in Hebrew of his journeys was published in Constantinople in 1543, and a part of this work was translated into Latin by Arias Montano and published in Antwerp in 1575.—THE EDITOR.

annals it is said that Fulin is erected near the sea, that its houses are strong and that they rise to a great height, that the number of its inhabitants exceeds a hundred thousand families, and that outside the walls there are great suburbs as extensive as the city itself. The sovereign is surrounded by ten principal ministers and a great number of functionaries. He wears a crown adorned with precious stones, and he is clothed with a great robe of silk with embroidery of gold. The gate that is situated in the east of the city is two hundred feet high and covered with plates of gold. Another of the gates has upon it a marvelous clock composed of a great figure of gold, and it marks the hours by tossing up a ball, also of gold. In order the better to endure the heat of summer, the inhabitants of Fulin open pipes of fresh water which they have installed upon the level roofs of their houses, thus enjoying an agreeable temperature. The Chinese annals also mention the siege of Constantinople by the calif Mohavia, his failure, and the presents of gold and silk he had to send to the emperor in order to obtain peace. Some years before this event, in the reign of Tai-Tsung, relations were renewed between the Orient and the Occident, with the arrival of an embassy proceeding from Fulin, bearing valuable presents of emeralds and rubies, which probably Heraclius sent in order to secure the aid of the Chinese against the Arabs.

Justinian II, in 711, and Leo "The Isaurian,"¹ in 719, sent to China similar embassies. The ambassadors of Leo carried to the Chinese emperor as a gift several lions and a lamb of great size, with enormous horns in the form of a spiral. The envoys of Leo "The Isaurian" seem to have left Byzantium for China at a moment when the Arabs, accumulating all their forces for a decisive blow, were keeping the people of Byzantium in distressing turmoil, and when, from the other end of Europe, they crossed the strait of Gibraltar, took possession of Spain and penetrated the kingdom of the Franks. At last, in

742, there arrived in China, proceeding from Fulin, certain *priests of great virtue*, Nestorian monks, who went there as missionaries, and whose visit is celebrated in the inscription of Singan Fu. The visit of the Nestorian monks put an end to the relations between Rome and Byzantium and China, the califate of Bagdad interposing itself from that time as an impassable barrier between the emperor of the remote Orient and the emperor of the distant Occident.

II

THE JOURNEYS OF THE CHINESE TO THE COUNTRIES OF THE WEST

The Chinese and the Persians maintained relations long before the appearance of the califate, and when, in the time of Khusrau (Chosroes) Nushirvan, the Arabs constituted a menace to the Persian empire, a number of embassies were exchanged between Khusrau and the emperor Wu-Ti. The last successor of Khusrau, however, appealed in vain, in 638, for the aid of the emperor Tai-Tsung against the invading Arabs. Fleeing from the cavalry of the calif, like a new Darius before a Semitic Alexander, the grandson of Khusrau crossed the Oxus in order to learn that the Son of Heaven considered his friendship very sacred, but with men as virtuous as the Arabs all resistance was impious, on which account he counseled him to submit to the calif upon the most favorable conditions he could obtain.

The expansion of Islamism filled the Chinese with terror. At the beginning of the seventh century they had lost at the hands of the Arabs the sovereignty they nominally retained over western Turkestan. The attacks which they directed against the califate in 709 and in 751 culminated in noisy failures, and the Arabs, assuming the offensive, advanced as far as Kachgaria, the victorious General Kutaiba imposing there a genuine tribute. The death of the calif Walid prevented the flag of the Prophet from reaching, in its triumphal march, the shores of the Yellow sea.

The Chinese annals describe different journeys made from Canton to the Per-

¹Born at Germanacia, Armenia Minor; he died June 18, 741: emperor of Byzantium, 718-741.—THE EDITOR

sian gulf. After the civil wars of the year 878, the Chinese junks did not pass from Ceylon; but previously, from the fifth to the tenth centuries, as the Arab geographer, Mohammed el Massoudi, tells us, the vessels of Chinese merchants were frequently seen anchored at the mouth of Euphrates and other places along the Persian gulf.

The Chinese put themselves into communication with India principally through their travelers. Of these the one who first visited India was Fa-Hien, who left the valley of the Hoangho in the year 400, in search of the books of Buddhist discipline, and he returned to Nanking in the year 414. First he journeyed toward the north, reaching the mountains of Tian-Chan, returning afterward southward to Khotan, whence he set out in a southeasterly direction to the neighborhood of Kabul, and from which place he went back to India, following the course of the Ganges to Benares. He left India by water, visited Ceylon, crossed the strait of Sonda, and returned to his country. The narrative of his journeys is clear and accurate, and the larger number of the places cited can to-day be easily identified; but he employs the melancholy and humble language of the Buddhist monks, thus diminishing the interest of his work. The first part of the narrative of Fa-Hien is strictly geographical; but from the time he reached India and occupied himself with the life and doctrines of Buddha, he lost the character of a traveler and geographer by converting himself into a disciple and apologist of the great master.

Fa-Hien sets out from the capital of the empire of Singan Fu, situated toward the frontier of the northwest, and after passing the great wall, he encounters the first obstacle, the *river of sand* or desert of Gobi, "the habitation of demons and scorching winds," where the only signs that indicate the road are the bones of travelers who have perished in it, and where is seen neither bird in the air nor any animal upon the earth. Fa-Hien, by painful experience, knew also the horrors of the deserts of Turkestan, in one of which, according to tradition, a sand storm once buried as many cities as the year has days. In the

high mountains of the north of India the pilgrim suffered "penalties unequaled in the experiences of man, and he exposed himself to the anger of the dragons of the mountains, who exhale poisonous gases and are able to produce tempests of snow and sand."

Arrived at Khotan, where at another time almost all the inhabitants had embraced Islamism, Fa-Hien found only fervent Buddhists, "with monks in myriads." Likewise in Yarkland, in the mountains of Karakorum and in Afghanistan, all the inhabitants followed the law of Buddha.

From the mountains "like unto immense walls" of the Hindu Kush, Fa-Hien comes to the gorge of the river Indus, which produces a profound impression upon him. "When one draws near the brink, his eyes tremble," he says, "and if one wishes to go forward, there is no place on which to set foot, except in the holes chiseled in the living rock by the ancients." In spite of these great dangers, Fa-Hien descends to the bottom, in search of the road to India.

There Fa-Hien remained ten years (probably from 402 until 412); but, as we have indicated above, instead of geographical descriptions only, we find in the writings of the pilgrim mystical disquisitions upon the ethics of Buddha. In the narratives of Fa-Hien are found only vague references to journeys made to Peshawur, Afghanistan and the Panjab and the valleys of the Ganges and the Jumna, and this always in pursuit of the sacred places where Buddha preached or lived, and where the relics of him are preserved. Nevertheless, here and there among the passages of his monotonous meditations are geographical references worthy of being taken into account. He relates his journeys to Afghanistan (or the country of Lo-i or Ro-hi, in which faith was very active), and the experiences that befell him in passing the "little snow-clad mountains" that separate Afghanistan from India. He tells us that from the Indus southward all the country is level, that there are no longer to be seen great mountains with impetuous torrents, and that the plain is broken only by rivers that bear their waters to the sea in placid calm.

Fa-Hien remained five years in Patna,

copying books of discipline. Afterward he went to Ceylon. He set out from the delta of the Ganges, and made a trip in fourteen days "floating by sea in a southwesterly direction, in a merchant vessel." In Ceylon an unexpected incident reminded him of his country and awakened in him a desire to return to it. Given over one day to meditation near the great image of the Buddha of the "Mount without Fear," he saw a merchant offer to the saint an image characteristic of China: a fan of white silk.

The sight of this object, simple as it was, aroused in Fa-Hien a longing for his remote country. "Throughout long years," he says, "I had spoken only with men of strange countries, my eyes had not fallen upon any familiar object, all my traveling companions had left me, and I was acquainted with no other face and no other shadow than my own." He decided to return to China; but before beginning the homeward journey he copied all the sacred texts unknown in China that he found in Ceylon, and he witnessed the great celebrations in honor of Buddha's tooth.

The journey out from China to India had been so long and full of hazards that Fa-Hien decided to return by way of the sea, a shorter route, but one that was as dangerous as the other. Fatality, indeed, pursued him. The bottom of the ship sprang a leak, our traveler thus losing all the books and images he had collected in his journey. A tempest lashed the ship for thirteen days and thirteen nights, at the end of which the weather eased up, and land was seen, they being able to stop the leak and avoid shipwreck. However, there remained the danger of pirates, who infested those seas. A new tempest drove the ship from its course and carried it to the shores of Java. In view of so many tribulations and so many perils, the mariners reached the conclusion that all was due to the presence of Fa-Hien in the ship, and they formed a conspiracy to throw him into the water. When his end appeared nearest, the master of the vessel intervened and saved him from certain death. At the end of an absence of fifteen years he succeeded in reaching his starting-point, after having visited, in his judgment, more than thirty

kingdoms, from the desert of Gobi to the most remote towns of India.

Fa-Hien was not the only one of the Chinese travelers who made trips through the countries of the occident. In the year 518 terminated the great expedition "to India and other countries situated toward the west," and in the seventh century Hiouen Tsang made his famous pilgrimage to Turkestan and India; but there were many travelers of whom little or nothing is known, as is shown by the memoirs on "the eminent men of religion who went in search of the law to the regions of the occident," in which are mentioned the names of sixty-six travelers who, between the years of 650 and 700, followed the footsteps of Fa-Hien through the countries of the west.

III

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

The journeys of Fa-Hien and the other travelers who preceded him, journeys of enormous scope and filled with threatening dangers, demonstrate to what extent the Chinese travelers were capable of going in challenging the unknown, crossing immense deserts, scaling very high mountains, in which nature and men seemed to be united in hostility to their presence. All these journeys, however, had been made by land, and in a westerly direction. The discovery of the compass was going to permit the Chinese to take to the sea, in a contrary direction, toward the east, in order to reach the coasts of America.

The Chinese knew, from long before this period, the property of lode-stone of attracting iron, and the property of magnetized iron of pointing always toward the north; but not until the fourth century of our era had they begun to apply what we might call the compass to high navigation. The Chinese compass was extremely crude. It was composed of a little bar of magnetized iron, set in the outstretched arms of a wooden figure that swung on a pivot. They were not acquainted therefore with the needle, either floating upon a straw or fixed on a pivot. The wooden figure pointed with the right arm toward the south, which is the most important cardinal point, according to the Chinese.

The Arabian geographer, El Massoudi, relates having seen Chinese junks in the mouth of the Euphrates. They had arrived there, proceeding from Canton, by crossing the strait of Sonda and coasting along India and Persia. Setting out from China in the contrary direction, and, besides, being in possession of the compass, the Chinese junks could coast without great difficulty along the islands of Japan, sail to Kamchatka, always keeping in view the Kuriles, and from Kamchatka, taking as bearings the Aleutian islands, reach America: this, taking for granted the desire of the navigators to make the journey, since Kuroshiwo has sometimes driven the Chinese and Japanese junks to the coasts of America, carrying them to Alaska, British Columbia and even California. If a junk can reach the coasts of America, driven by the blind force of the Kuroshiwo, it can also go there, guided by a brave and skilful pilot; and, if to the ability and courage of the mariner are joined the ardent faith and the unconquerable will of the disciple of Buddha, the journey is not only possible, but it becomes an absolutely achievable undertaking.

This journey, not more difficult than that from Canton to the mouth of the Euphrates, was one made in the fifth century of our era by Huei-Sen and a group of Buddhist priests of Afghanistan.

The Chinese annals record that the Kingdom of Fu-Sang was made known by Huei-Sen, who reached China, proceeding from this country of the Orient, at a date that ought to correspond to the year 499 of our era. According to Huei-Sen, Fu-Sang was situated to the east of the Middle Kingdom, 20,000 *li*¹ southward from the country of the Great Han. It took its name from the trees of *fu-sang* that were there, and from which its inhabitants obtained food, fiber, cloth, paper and wood. The inhabitants of this kingdom had no arms and they did not make war; they had horses, deer and oxen with great horns; in the country grew the pear-tree and the vine; they were acquainted with gold, silver and copper, but they attached value to the last of these only; they were governed by a king, whose vestments were succes-

sively green, red, yellow, white and black; they condemned to prison the authors of all kinds of crimes, and for them they had two prisons, one of which was in the south, designed for those who were guilty of offences of slight importance, and another in the north, intended for those who were guilty of graver crimes; the marriage ceremony was very much like that of China, and like the Chinese, they venerated their parents and made gifts to the images of their ancestors. The inhabitants of Fu-Sang, finally, continued in barbarism until Huei-Sen went to preach to them the law of Buddha, which certain holy men, who came from Afghanistan, spread throughout the entire country.

In the same annals Huei-Sen describes at length the kingdom of the Women, which was situated about a thousand *li* to the south of Fu-Sang. The inhabitants of this kingdom (not all of whom belonged to the female sex, although the land was called that of *the women*) were of good height and of a very light color, but they were covered with thick hair that reached to the ground. Their children walked three months after they were born, and at four years of age they had completed their development. They fed on the leaves of a plant with a salt taste, and they fled frightened before the presence of foreigners.

According to the Chinese annals, a little after the return of Huei-Sen, between 502 and 556, there were discovered the land of the Marked Bodies, the land of the Men with Dogs' Heads and the country of the Great Han. The first of these countries, "whose inhabitants tattooed their bodies until they made themselves like wild beasts," was seven thousand *li* northeast of Japan. Like the Brahmans of India, the nobles of this land bore upon their foreheads certain lines that denoted their rank. The people were joyous, hospitable and pacific, and they were content with objects of slight value. The king's palace was adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones. In commerce they used gems as money.

In the annals of the dynasty of the Liang, it is related that certain Chinese sailors were driven by the winds to an island which

¹Chinese miles.

they found inhabited by men of an unintelligible language, who had heads like those of dogs, and who barked instead of speaking. They fed, among other things, upon certain small beans; their clothing seemed to be made of linen, and their houses, which were built of earth, were round, with doors and windows like warrens. Finally, in the first years of the sixth century was discovered and described the country of the Great Han, situated five thousand *li* to the eastward of the land of the Marked Bodies. The customs of these countries were almost the same, but they differed in language, which was entirely distinct.

Of all these lands situated to the east of China, Fu-Sang is the most important. The kingdom of the Women, the land of the Marked Bodies, the land of the Men with Dogs' Heads and the country of the Great Han are of secondary importance.

An eminent French scholar, M. de Guignes, it was who first made known, in the eighteenth century, the journeys of the Chinese to North America, in an article entitled *Recherches sur les navigations des Chinois du côté de l'Amérique, et sur quelques peuples situés à l'extrémité orientale de l'Asie*, which was published in Paris, in 1761, in the memoirs of the Royal academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres. It appears, however, that M. de Guignes had discovered before 1761—in the Chinese texts that he was obliged to study, in preparing his great *Histoire générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols et autres Tartares occidentaux*, etc.—certain references to the journeys of the Chinese to the coasts of America; but a letter written by a missionary named Gaubil to M. de l'Isle, dated at Pekin 1752, it is said that M. de Guignes had found in the Chinese annals the description of certain countries of America, which (and let it be said in passing, because it is of little importance) seemed to Father Gaubil to be lacking in verisimilitude.

Philippe Buache, in a treatise entitled *Considérations géographiques et physiques sur les nouvelles découvertes au Nord de la Grande Mer*, published in Paris, in 1753, in which he predicted the existence of the strait of Aman (afterward called Bering)

affirmed that in the year 458 a Chinese colony was established on the gulf of California, in a region called Fu-Sang, that was situated at 55° north latitude.

The Baron von Humboldt, in his *Views of the Cordilleras*, mentions a great number of extraordinary and surprising coincidences between the civilization of Asia and that of México, of such a nature and of such importance as to lead him to the conclusion that there must have existed some communication, at very remote times, between America and Asia.

The discovery of America by the Chinese seems not to have attracted further attention until 1831, when M. J. Klaproth published, in the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, an article entitled, *Recherches sur le pays de Fou-Sang, mentionné dans les livres Chinois, et pris, mal à propos, pour une partie de l'Amérique*, in which it was asserted that the country mentioned in the Chinese annals must be situated on the islands of Japan, and not in America.

Against this contradictory opinion the eminent de Paravey lifted his voice, publishing two pamphlets, one of them in 1844, and the other later, in which it was demonstrated that the country of Fu-Sang ought to be sought in North America and not in Japan. M. de Paravey also published subsequently other works in which he undertook to demonstrate the Asiatic origin of the civilization of the Indians of Bogatá.

In 1865 M. Gustave d'Eichthal published his *Étude sur les origines bouddhiques de la civilisation américaine*.

In the same year M. Vivien de Saint Martin, in an article published in *L'Année Géographique* under the title of *Une vieille histoire remise à flot*, combated the idea that the Chinese had known America.

In 1866 the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, in his *Monuments anciens du Mexique*, combats the affirmation of M. Vivien de Saint Martin.

In 1868 Dr. A. Godran, president of the academy of Sciences of Nancy, published in the *Annales des Voyages, de la Géographie de L'Histoire et de l'Archéologie*, an article entitled *Une mission bouddhiste en Amérique au V^e siècle*.

In 1875 Mr. Charles G. Leland published

in London his book *Fu-Sang, or the Discovery of America by Chinese Buddhist Priests in the Fifth Century*,¹ in which is presented a profound study of this subject, from all points of view, and which puts an end to the discussions regarding the situation of Fu-Sang by demonstrating that the country known by the Chinese under this name is to be found in North America.

In 1876 the Marquis de Hervey de Saint Denys, in his translation of the work by Ma Tuan-lin, entitled *Ethnography of Foreign Nations*, confirms in all its parts the conclusions of Mr. Leland.

Finally, Mr. Edward P. Vining, in his magnificent work *An Inglorious Columbus*,² published in New York, in 1885, demonstrates, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the *land of the Marked Bodies* is the Aleutian islands; the *country of the Great Han*, British Columbia; *Fu-Sang*, México; and the *kingdom of the Women*, Central America.

Among us, Bachiller y Morales, in his *Cuba primitiva*, studying the origin of the Cuban Indians, makes a slight reference to Chinese migrations, but he only touches on the point in passing and without attaching great importance to it.

IV

THE CHINESE TEXTS³

The description of Fu-Sang (México) and of the kingdom of the Women appeared in the Chinese annals in the year 499 of our era, and we owe it to the direct narrative of Huei-Sen. The description of the land of the Marked Bodies, of the Island of the Men with Dogs' Heads and of the country of the Great Han appears in the annals between 502 and 556.

FU-SANG (MEXICO)⁴

In the first year of the reign of the Tsi⁵

¹Title in English.—THE EDITOR.

²Title in English.—THE EDITOR.

³The author desires to express his thanks to Mr. F. Li Yuan, a distinguished student of Columbia university, for his very valuable coöperation, which enabled him to translate into Spanish the original text of the Chinese annals.

⁴A careful study of the map of the Pacific makes clear the error in which we generally are regarding the geographical situation of the west coast of North

dynasty, a shaman⁶ named Huei-Sen came to King-Chen from the land of Fu-Sang, relating the following narrative:

Fu-Sang is situated 20,000 *li* or more to the east of the country of the Great Han (which also is situated to the east of the Middle kingdom). It produces many *fu-sang* trees, whence comes its name. The leaves of the *fu-sang* are like those of the tree that the Chinese call *tong*. Its first shoots look like those of the bamboo. The inhabitants of the country eat them, as also the fruit, which is in the form of a pear, although of a red color. From its bark thread is made, which they weave to make their clothing. They also make from it fine clothes and brocades. The houses in which they live are made of . . . They have neither fortresses nor walled cities. They have a kind of writing, and they make paper from the bark of the *fu-sang*. They have no weapons, nor do they make war. The laws of the country ordain that there shall be two prisons, one of them in the north, and the other in the south. Those who commit offenses of little importance are confined in the prison of the south; but those who commit grave crimes are confined in the prison of the north. Those who are confined in the prison of the south may be pardoned; but those who are confined in the prison of the north are not pardoned. The men and women in the prison of the north may marry; but their children become slaves, the males at the age of

America. We are so accustomed to locate the north in the upper part of maps and the south in the lower, and we have imagined so often that a perpendicular line traced on the map indicates exactly the north and the south, that when we observe on the common map of North America, in a tracing of which one of the most usual projections has been followed, and in which the meridians (in order better to represent the sphericity of the earth) are inclined toward the left, we do not bear in mind that these lines, inclined in appearance, are true meridians, and we imagine the west coast of North America arranged perpendicularly, that is, following the apparent direction from north to south which we have imagined on the map. On the map of the southern Pacific, traced according to the usual projection, (or even better, according to the projection of Mollwerde in which the meridian zero passes through the Bering strait), the ordinary situation of the west coast of North America could be determined, which extends, not from north to south, but from northwest to southeast, very pronouncedly. On this account Huei-Sen believed that the route which had been followed beyond the Aleutian islands continued in the same direction as that which had been followed from China to these islands. Where would a traveler who, setting out from Alaska, should journey eastward (bearing slightly toward the southeast) after having gone six thousand miles, be found? A glance at the map enables us to give an unequivocal answer: in México.

⁵A year known by the name of Yung Yuen, or of the perpetual foundation.

⁶A Buddhist priest.

eight years and the females at the age of nine. When a person of high rank commits a crime, the inhabitants of the country gather in a great assembly and judge him while seated at the bottom of an excavation. They celebrate a feast and a banquet in his presence, and they take leave of him as of a dying man. If he is sentenced to death, they cover him with ashes. If his crime is of the first degree, only the criminal is punished. If it is of the second degree, his children and grandchildren are punished. If it is of the third degree, six generations are punished. The king of the country boasts the title of *Chief of the Multitudes*. The nobles of the first category are the *tui-lu*; those of the second category, the *little tui-lu*; those of the third category, the *na-to-oba*. When the king leaves his palace, he moves preceded and followed by drums and trumpets. The color of his vestments changes according to the course of the years. The first and second year (of a cycle of ten), they are blue; the third and fourth, they are red; the fifth and sixth, they are yellow; the seventh and eighth, they are white; and the ninth and tenth, they are black. The oxen of Fu-Sang have enormous horns and can endure great burdens. The inhabitants keep their wealth in empty horns, some of which are twenty times as large as the common ones. Oxen, horses and deer are employed to draw the vehicles. The inhabitants of the country have herds of deer, just as the Chinese have herds of cattle. They make cheese from milk. They have a kind of red pear that keeps a year without rotting, and they also have tomatoes. In the country iron is not found; but copper is. Gold and silver have no value. In their markets there are neither taxes nor fixed prices. As to marriage, he who desires to marry a young woman constructs a house in front of the house in which she lives. For the period of a year, in the morning and afternoon, he cleans and waters the front of his house. If the maiden does not accept him then, he goes somewhere else; but if they please each other mutually, the wedding is celebrated. The ceremonies are almost the same as those in the Middle kingdom. When the father, the mother, the wife or the son dies, the relatives fast seven days; when the grandfather or the grandmother dies, five days; when the older brother dies, the younger brother, the older brother of the father, the younger brother of the father, an older sister or a younger sister, three days. They place on a pedestal an image that represents the person who has died, and they reverence and offer it libations morning and evening. They do not wear mourning. The prince who inherits the

throne does not occupy himself with affairs of government until three years after his accession. In ancient times they were ignorant and they did not know the religion of Buddha, but in the reign of the dynasty of Sung, in the second year of the period called *Ta-ming*,¹ five men of the country of *Ki-pin*,² who were *pi-k'iu*,³ paid a visit to the people already mentioned and made known to them the laws of Buddha, his sacred books and his images. They taught the people the rules of the monastic life, and at last caused the rudeness of their customs to disappear.

THE KINGDOM OF THE WOMEN (CENTRAL AMERICA)

Huei-Sen says that the kingdom of the Women is situated 1,000 *li* east of Fu-Sang. Its inhabitants are very straight and of a pure white color. They are covered with hair and they have long curls, some of which reach to the ground. In the second or third month, the women go to bathe in a river, thereby becoming fertile. They give birth to their children in the sixth or seventh month. The women do not have mammary nipples on the breast, but they have some hairs on the nape of their necks from which flows the milk with which they nourish the children. They nurse their children for five days, at the end of which they can now walk. At the end of three or four years, the children are all ready well trained. The women run from strangers, and are very affectionate toward their husbands. These people nourish themselves on a plant like that which the Chinese call *sie-hao*, of a fragrant odor and a salt taste. During the reign of the emperor Wu-ti, of the dynasty of Lian, in the sixth year of the period designated by the name of *Tien-kien*, or "celestial protection,"⁴ some men of Tsin-gan, who were crossing the sea, were swept by the winds to a certain coast. They went ashore and found it inhabited. The women resembled those of the Middle kingdom; but their language was unintelligible. The men had dogs' heads, and they barked instead of speaking. They fed on small beans, and their clothes seemed to be of cotton. Their houses were of baked clay and circular in form, with very small doors.

THE LAND OF THE MARKED BODIES (ALEUTIAN ISLANDS)

The inhabitants of the country have marks on their bodies, like those of savage beasts.

¹Of "great brilliancy."

²Kabul.

³Buddhist mendicant monks.

⁴In the year 507.

They have three marks on the forehead. If the marks are long and straight they indicate that those who have them belong to the higher classes; but if they are small and crooked, those who have them belong to the lower classes. The inhabitants of the country are of a joyous nature, and they make merry when they have an abundance, although it be of articles of little value. Travelers do not carry food, and they lodge in the houses of the inhabitants of the country. These do not have fortifications or walled cities. The residence of the king of the country is decorated with gold and silver, with precious and beautiful objects set around it. They dig ditches ten feet wide, which they fill with silver water. When it rains, the water runs on the surface of the silver water.

THE COUNTRY OF THE GREAT HAN (BRITISH COLUMBIA)

In the time of the dynasty of the Liang, the Chinese became acquainted with the country of the Great Han, situated 5,000 *li* to the east of the country of the Marked Bodies. They have no weapons and they do not make war. They scourge those who commit crimes of little importance. They throw to the wild beasts, to be devoured, those who are guilty of crimes that they punish with the pain of death. If the accusation is calumnious, the beasts remain at a distance, instead of devouring them, and after a night of trial, they are given their liberty.

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THE UNIFYING FATHER

BY

"JACK THE RIPPER"

A ridiculous domestic situation used by a well-known Ecuadorian humorist to point a moral that gives an insight into the national character and political tendencies.—THE EDITOR.

HE WAS the father of a family who had six children (I also know how to tell stories), three sons and three daughters, in an ascending scale from four to ten years.

Eleuterio, this good man was called; and his wife, Agapita; the two of them forming a very well mated pair, save when the question of politics came into consideration; for he was a liberal and an enthusiastic partisan of the Unification, and she an orthodox conservative, a spiritual daughter of the very Father Pantaleón.

The poor doña Agapita had only one defect: that of being deaf in her right ear, and also in the other; so that in order to make himself understood, don Eleuterio would sometimes have to raise a pretty shout.

"Listen, Agapita," he said to her one day; "what do you think of the Unification?"

"Of the circumcision?"

"No; it is that we are going to unify ourselves. Do you hear?"

"Yes; a going to undress ourselves? Why?"

"No, woman. Our program has always been that of union and progress."

"Ham and cheese?"

"Come, now! (This poor woman is a post.) I tell you, Agapita, that I am a liberal."

"¡Jesús! How strange."

"Why?"

"Don't you say that you are an animal?"

"To-day you are worse than ever, with your deafness. You would have been better off if you had never been born, as General Alfaro said to General Plaza."

"Do you know, Eleuterio, that at this moment my ear has just gone unstopped."

"Well then, listen."

"But speak loud, eh!"

"What do you think of the Unification?"

"Have done with the Unification, Eleuterio, and think of the salvation of your soul, which is what concerns you. Remember Job, how he suffered, in order to achieve glory; remember Saint Alexis, who took a vow from his wife on the very night of his wedding and went to live under the stairway, in order to gain heaven; remember Saint Simeon Stylites, who let one of his legs be eaten by worms for having thought of descending from the ladder on which he did penance, in a moment of enthusiasm, over a sinful woman; reflect on San Bezarón, who ate raw maize, and on San Pedro Alcántara, who slept hanging by one of his ribs. . . ."

"Enough, enough! I am not one of those fools, do you understand?"

"What heresy you have spoken, ¡Dios santo! Ah, if Father Pantaleón should hear you!"

"Not a whistle do I care for Father Pantaleón. We the unionists; what we care for is to name the candidate."

"Ah?"

"To nominate the candidate!"

"My ear has stopped up again. What do you say?"

"That we are going to name the candidate."

"Since this morning he has been on top of the roof, and he will not come down, no matter how much the children pull him by the tail."

"Who?"

"Didn't you ask about the cat?"

"Curse my luck! I'd a good deal rather have an ugly woman than a deaf one. I am speaking to her about our candidate, and she understands me to say 'cat.' For-

unately my children are not deaf. Come here, children!"

A noise was heard approaching, as of a squad of horse entering.

Six lively youngsters responded to the paternal summons.

"Listen to me," said the author of their days to them; "I am going to give you whatever you please; but on condition that you are all united, eh! So that whatever one says, the other will do. In short, let there be among you, like the brothers and sisters that you are, a complete unification, so that when you grow up you can organize a liberal convention."

"Good, papa!" cried the childish throng.

"Here you have a *sucre*¹ to buy a game that you can all play together."

"I want a doll," said one of the girls.

"I, a pistol," exclaimed the oldest of the boys.

"I, a top."

"I, a sword."

"I, a dish."

"I, a bird."

"A pretty unification," remarked the father, greatly irritated; "but, after all, children of different ages and sex are not obliged to prefer the same thing, and to have an identity of tastes and desires. Instead of a *sucre*, the feast is going to cost me six *sucres*; but I must teach them to be united. Oh, the Unification above everything, in order that my colleagues of Quito may know who Eleuterio Chapacoto is!"

"Well, children, I am going to please you; but now you know; you must play together like good brothers and sisters."

He gave them the money; then he set out to his work, returning three hours later.

From the doorway he heard a scandalous noise that had arisen in his domicile: cries, laments, blows and everything that could be imagined to bring the house down.

He went up four steps at a time, passed over the señora, who had fainted on the threshold of the door, and entered the

dining-room, which had been converted into a *field of Agramante*.²

Clarita, the oldest of the girls, had a doll torn to pieces in one hand, as an evidence of the destructive capacity of her sister Carolina, and she was fighting her with all her might by way of vengeance, trying to break her dish, which was still whole. During the encounter the two had again and again stepped on the bird of the youngest girl, who was letting out cries to pierce the soul, while Eleuterio the Second, impassible, was shooting his pistol in her ears, to add to the disturbance; and his brother Enrique flourished his sword to right and left, as if possessed of the devil, basting the rest, without the slightest consideration.

What must the row have been, if the excellent doña Agapita, in spite of her deafness, had fainted!

Don Eleuterio was livid. Seeing that one of the children was missing, he asked in anguish:

"Where is Casimiro?"

"Here I am!" responded a treble voice from the patio. At the same time there came through the window a top, discharged from below like a projectile, and it planted itself point foremost on the nose of the father of the family.

From that fatal day, don Eleuterio has never again spoken of the Unification; nor does he wish others to speak to him of it; and everybody observes that he is more sensible than before, without ceasing to be a liberal; and he has gained much in the popular regard.

See how valuable it is to make experiment on a small scale!

What would it be on a large scale?

Perhaps not even the coat-tails of the unifiers would be left in place, as has occurred already in my part of the country.

¹See INTER-AMERICA for February, 1918, p. 150, foot-note to the first column.—THE EDITOR

²*Campo de Agramante*, used as a synonym of confusion and disorder: according to the legend, Agramante, the leader of the Mohammedan kings and princes, besieged Charlemagne in Paris; the emperor and his warriors betook themselves to the cathedral to ask divine intervention in their behalf against their enemies; and God heard their petition and set the archangel Michael to introduce discord into the *campo de Agramante*, the disastrous result for the besiegers being described by Ariosto in the celebrated poem *Orlando furioso*.—THE EDITOR.

QUARE CAUSA

BY

ANTONIO CANAMAQUE

Clever nonsense, from the new and beautifully illustrated magazine, *Plus Ultra*, in which the writer voices whimsical queries, the most of which have presented themselves as well to the denizens of the northern as to those of the southern hemisphere.—THE EDITOR.

FORTUNATELY difficulties do not terrify me. I am not a stoic, like Zeno, and I am rather much of a vegetarian, and the daily use of farinaceous foods, combined with tastes awakened in me by the lectures of Ortega y Gasset have developed my will and the spirit of investigation. In all things I find a ground for study; every problem detains me, and in the presence of anything unknown I turn into a corkscrew, penetrate into its depths and attempt to *extract* the true source of the mystery. A tenacious animal is man, eh?

Says Armado Nervo: "Every human query would yield to solution, if we but knew one dimension more, the fourth;" but I venture that some would not yield even to the fourth.

So therefore it may be affirmed that old Simón of *La tempestad*,¹ when he sang about

Why, why tremble?

was not acquainted with the fourth dimension.

The day that this measure—or whatever it is—comes to be a public possession, like the municipal bathing resort, will be the moment for clearing up all the phenomena that I set down below, and the invariable repetition of which causes us to suspect the existence of an intelligent and unknown law that might well be the fourth dimension; a true, very modern and consoling discovery, for it would be the depository of all the unknowns. And just as the physicians attribute to the nervous system whatever they do not understand, so the rest of us mortals will find

at length the means of resolving every doubt with this simple formula: Betake yourself to the fourth dimension!

Why table-knives never cut?

Why dogs have such a deep hatred of coalmen?

If one eats in bed—whatever precaution he takes—why must crumbs always remain behind in the sheets?

In response to what law is it that the telephone operator always says: "Hold the receiver," if there is no other remedy than to hold it?

Why is it that street-car inspectors never laugh?

Why are the children of our friends so badly reared?

What becomes of the boxes of matches of which all the world has a plenty?

Whether one earns much or little, why is he always out of money by the end of the month?

Why is it that the lame have the reputation of bringing bad luck?

Why do people eat macaroni every Sunday?

What concern has all the world in publishing articles, if no one reads them?

Why do carts loaded with bottles of soda-water always hold up the street-cars?

Why do the Italians always wear their hats set on in so curious a manner?

In meetings in the pastry-shops, why is it that the singers always go off without paying?

When any one steps on another, why does the one who does the stepping always get angry?

For what reason does *La Razón*² begin with the third edition? What happens to the first and second editions?

¹A drama by Miguel Ramos Carrión, born in Zamora, Spain, about sixty years ago, who died within the last few years.—THE EDITOR.

²One of the leading dailies of Buenos Aires.—THE EDITOR.

Why is it that the man who has not a cent talks a great deal about thousands of dollars?

Why are almost all literary women ugly?

Why do so many young girls use eye-glasses?

Why is it that those who are in the secret of the winners in horse-races have not a bawbee?

Why is it that you never see a waiter in a café using spectacles?

Why is it that all the world speaks well of Wagner and nobody likes him?

What good does it do motorcyclists to split the ears of passers-by?

If violinists and pianists should cut their hair, would they be able to play well?

Why does no one return borrowed books?

Why is it that the street-car one wishes has just passed, and many cars go by that one does not need?

After shaving you, why does the barber ask you if the razor hurts?

Why does a tooth stop aching at the dentist's?

Why is it that all governments are bad?

Why is it that you always stub the sore toe?

Why is it that shoes do not hurt your feet at the shoemaker's, and that they do when you can not return them?

Why is it that those who make much of their quickness are usually out of funds?

What has a pipe to do with making a good detective?

Why is it you never know where you have caught a cold?

Why do carriages stop on corners and interrupt travel when one is in a hurry and must cross the street?

When one is wearing light clothes, why does he get a dark stain, and when he is wearing dark clothes, why does he get a white one?

Why were *The Three Musketeers* four?

Why is it that things that happen on Sunday are always so funny?

Why is it that when one has a torn garment or a cracked shoe he believes that all the world is looking at it?

Why does the public prefer to go to the theater on first nights, if that is when the worst plays are seen?

Why is it that there seem to be more fevers in houses where there are thermometers?

Why is it that it always rains when you put on a new straw hat?

Why is it that funeral coaches are always in such bad taste?

Why is it that the pampa produces the ombú?¹

If any reader succeeds in finding somewhere the fourth dimension and wishes to lend it to me for a moment, I promise to return it to him in perfect condition immediately after solving these little problems.

With anticipatory thanks.

¹The celebrated but not impressive tree of the Argentine pampas, which some have suggested for adoption as the national tree or symbol. The regard in which it is supposed to be held is illustrated by the opening stanza of *El ombú*, a familiar poem by Luis L. Domínguez:

Cada comarca en la tierra
Tiene un rasgo prominente:
El Brasil su sol ardiente,
Minas de plata el Perú,
Montevideo su cerro,
Buenos Aires, patria hermosa,
Tiene su pampa grandiosa,
La pampa tiene el ombú.

Roughly translated, it runs thus:

Every region of the planet
Has a feature of importance:
Has Brazil its sun of ardor,
Mines of silver has Perú,
Montevideo its hillock,
Buenos Aires, land of beauty,
Has its grandiose spreading pampa,
And the pampa the ombú.

—THE EDITOR.



THE OPENING OF THE PERUVIAN ACADEMY CORRESPONDING WITH THE SPANISH ROYAL ACADEMY

BY

RICARDO PALMA

An account of the reorganization of one of the corresponding academies, with a sketch of its charter members, written by the dean of South American letters, the octogenarian author of the famous *Tradiciones peruanas*, one of the enduring masterpieces of American literature.—THE EDITOR.

SEÑOR *President of the Republic,*
Señores:

Thirty years ago it fell to my lot, in my capacity as dean of the corresponding members of the Spanish Royal academy, to have the honor of receiving the authorization of the academy to constitute in Perú, with the existing personnel, an institution which, with the name of the Peruvian academy corresponding with the Spanish Royal academy, should serve as a prolongation of the corporation of the mother-country, and, as such, should have for its mission the care of the purity of the language and of literary culture, while at the same time strengthening the bonds of regard and spiritual solidarity between the old Latin trunk and this remote territorial branch of the race, in which still flows vigorously the ethnic and moral sap of that frenzied and lyric, sentimental and joyous people, which, fanatical in its glorious traditions and preserving its vital character in history, does not dismount from Rocinante, but puts him into the gait of locomotives and automobiles in pursuit of that eternal Dulcinea of humanity called Progress.

In this very hall of the oldest university of America,¹ on August 30, 1887, there accompanied me in the solemn inauguration of the Peruvian academy eleven corresponding members of the Spanish academy. who with me formed the new corporation, only two of the brethren surmounting the black wave of death, in which were plunged ten distinguished intellectuals. To these

you will permit me, señores, to consecrate a rapid and affectionate remembrance, satisfying the natural exigency of my tired spirit, to which comes in this moment of the rejuvenation of the energies of the Peruvian academy the call of the affectionate word which those ten comrades address from beyond the tomb to their old dean, to whom destiny has granted the satisfaction and honor of taking part for the second time in the organization of this exalted center of literary culture.

José Antonio de Lavalle was the first director of the Peruvian academy. Profoundly acquainted with the elegance and brilliance of the good classic Spanish utterance, his chaste and crystalline prose seemed a torrent poured from the clear brook in which flowed the Castilian speech in the loftiest periods of its greatest lexical nobility; and he leaves the impression of that *difficult facility* to which aspire all those who in literary work concern themselves not only with conception, but with pure form, since purity of form is nothing more than the exactitude with which the oral and the written word interprets thought. Not always does the ideal, well felt and well conceived, find the precise interpretation by which the thought that emerges from the mysterious spiritual recess of the writer penetrates in all its integrity, without deviations, mistakes or diminutions, into the soul of the cultivated reader. A great penetration into the secrets of the language, such as Lavalle possessed, is needed in order to achieve without effort the perfect crystallization of ideas into form. The Castilian language

¹The university of San Marcos, in Lima, founded in 1551.—THE EDITOR.

is of a marvelous lexical richness, and all the subtleties, variations and derivations of conception have the vocable that adjusts itself to the corresponding idiological shade; and when it is not the word itself, it is the turn or syntactical arrangement that produces thought with proper clarity and precision.

An eminent master in the manipulation of the language, Lavallo was proposed to the Spanish academy as a corresponding member in 1879. His most important works, in addition to his numerous critical, historical and political discourses, were the monographs entitled *Don Pablo de Olavide, apuntes sobre su vida y sus obras* (Don Pablo de Olavide, Remarks upon His Life and His Works) and *Antiguera, Valdés, O'Higgins, Abascal and La Perricholi*. Lavallo, perceived, with his fine critical instinct, the great vein constituted by our typical colonial life for artistic exploitation, and he undertook with success a small novel, *La hija del contador* (The Daughter of the Accountant). As a misfortune for national letters, and when he was planning to write more ambitious works of the kind, he was snatched by the inevitable Intruder.

When the Peruvian academy was inaugurated, the señor Félix Cipriano Coronel Zagarra had just been proposed and accepted by the Spanish academy. He was a highly cultured writer and a studious bibliographer, whose scattered works it would be useful to collect. A tranquil and serene spirit and a limpid intelligence, there was deposited in it an erudition vast and solid in respect of historical, bibliographical and philological material, and the little that he published was sufficient to enable those who devote themselves to literary study to regard so distinguished an intellectual with respect and admiration. One of his most notable labors of investigation was the bibliographical monograph on Santa Rosa de Lima. A little after the establishment of the Peruvian academy, death prematurely removed from us, when he was in all the vigor of his talent, this distinguished spirit, who, I understand, has left important inedited works, the publication of which I consider a duty that our institution might well fulfil, in recognition of a man of letters of such considerable merit.

Pedro Paz Soldán y Unanue, of illustrious intellectual stock, was the third of the academicians to depart from us. He was possessed of the most complex gifts, of the most tormented spirit of his generation. Classical by school, by antecedents of culture and by the native tendency of his intelligence, in the natural enrichment of his tastes, he sought correctness of form and purity of expression; but the spiritual tempests of his contradictory life and the constant agitation of his spirit created the moral environment of his literary production and made him romantic in the bitter and ironical direction of creole humor, and lacerating and jeering with regard to himself and all others. He made a contribution of American philology with his *Diccionario de peruanismos* (Dictionary of Peruvianisms), a work of positive merit, by which he placed his name upon the plane of the Baralts¹ and Cuervos.²

Luis Benjamín Cisneros, the sweet and tender poet, with whom I was united by a close and elective fraternity, had a strong mind and a great heart. His literary work was serious but intense. Destiny manifested an unwonted harshness with the poet, condemning him, at the period of his maturity, to the cruel torture of paralysis, and hindering him from completing his masterly poem, *Aurora amor* (Aurora Love), a noble and beautiful song, the introduction to which ranks him as one of the most inspired poets of America. In 1897 was wrought for Cisneros a deed of justice and vindication against the iniquity of destiny: the Ateneo de Lima and all the literary institutions of the repub-

¹Rafael María Baralt; a Venezuelan man of letters, born in Maracaibo, July 3, 1860; he spent the years subsequent to 1843 in Spain upon an historicodiplomatic mission, residing in Sevilla and Madrid, and becoming naturalized as a citizen of Spain; he was the director of the *Gaceta* and the administrator of the National press, being honored by membership in the Spanish Royal academy; among his chief works are: in prose, *Historia de la república de Venezuela* and *Diccionario de galicismos*; in verse, *A Cristóbal Colón*, *La anunciación*, *A una flor marchita*, the odes, *A la desesperación de Judas*, *A España*, *Adiós a la patria*, *Al año de las grandes esperanzas*, 1830, and the sonnets: *A Dios*, *Al sol*, *Al mar*.—THE EDITOR.

²Rufino José Cuervo, the noted Colombian scholar, who died on July 17, 1911, while the sixth edition of his *Apuntaciones críticas sobre el lenguaje bogotano*, con frecuente referencia al de los países de Hispano-América, was on the press.—THE EDITOR.

lic, gathering up the sentiments of admiration and sympathy for the great and unfortunate poet that palpitated in their midst, placed solemnly, in a memorable session, a crown of laurel upon the pallid brow of the predilect bard. Cisneros was a writer of precise and correct form, and for many years he filled the secretaryship of the academy. He died in 1904.

A little afterward, another poet of the academy, Ricardo Rossell, a soul as tormented as that of Hamlet by doubt and concern over the mystery of life, set out for eternity. The literary work of Rossell is valuable, and he represents in some of his compositions, in which the personality of the poet is characterized, an aspect of our philosophical poetry, pardoning the prosaicism, which is not infrequently the besetting vice of the grave and meditative muse.

César Goicochea was also a cultivator of the poetry in which he excelled in two or three poems of beautiful and elevated conception and polished form. He did not leave any substantial works, but the few he wrote reveal the solidity of his artistic culture. With his death disappeared the last poet of the Peruvian academy.

The second director of the academy was Francisco García Calderón, a juriscult of the first order and a writer with an immense literary range. The *Diccionario de legislación peruana* is not only a monument of inestimable value for the artistic erudition poured out in it, but it is a model of lexical correctness, verbal wealth and profound knowledge of the secret springs of the language that distinguished this eminent writer and thinker. Besides his immortal book, the literary work of García Calderón is in his numerous discourses and dissertations, saturated with new and elevated doctrines and conceptions set forth in the eloquent, clear and correct form in which his privileged mind developed its thought. García Calderón died in 1906, in the office of director of the academy and in the rectorship of the university. His talent reflourishes in two of his sons, who have devoted themselves to literature with brilliant success, and one of them, our companion in the corporation which to-day takes on new life,

honors the seat occupied by his illustrious father.

Two priests, as virtuous as they were illustrious, completed this institution: Monsignor Manuel Tovar, who was archbishop of Lima, and Monsignor José Antonio Roca. Both of these priests devoted themselves with genuine affection to literature, and they possessed extensive philosophical and literary culture. The works of the first of them do credit to the great worth which caused him to achieve the distinction that the Spanish academy should appoint him its corresponding member in the vacancy left by our eminent and irreplaceable historian, General don Manuel de Mendi-buru. A journalist of ardent word and of phrases constructed with propriety and correctness, derived from a happy acquaintanceship with the elegancies of our languages, Monsignor Tovar, when the absorbing cares of his elevated hierarchy did not withdraw him from this institution, lent to it important services. Monsignor Roca, with the suave and benevolent spirit of the mystic, possessed as a writer a personality that stood out in relief among us; and there is not one of his oratorical pieces that is not a true rhetorical model for the fineness, perfection and elegance of its periods, and which, far from being a cold mosaic of careful selection, vibrates with spontaneity and freshness, with spiritual candor and ardent sentiment, as had to be in productions proper to a soul consumed by the fire of sincere faith and boundless piety. Even yet is kept in memory the discourse which, on an occasion similar to the present, was pronounced by Monsignor Roca in praise of the excellences of the most human faculty of related life: speech.

The last of our venerable companions to leave us was Eugenio Larraburre y Unanue, a most distinguished writer and a studious investigator in the historical realm for which he had an especial predilection. In his works is beheld the seriousness with which he devoted his spirit, eager for knowledge, to archeological studies, at the same time that he cultivated with marked discrimination the clear and correct style of the most elegant Spanish writers of the eighteenth century.

Such were, señores, the eminent men of letters who have preceded you in this academy to which you come to lend your energies and your talent and to give it new life, strengthening at once the spiritual bonds of the American race with Spain, ties indestructible while Spain and America shall be united by the nexus of language. I do not need to recall the valuable contribution which Spanish America has made to the work of the progressive enrichment and evolution of the tongue of Cervantes. It is sufficient to cite the names of Andrés Bello,¹ that genial reformer of the laws of the Castilian language, who, departing from the sacred routine, discovered in fountains fresh and innate in himself the principles of health and liberty that ought to enter into the evolution of the Spanish language and into its technics; of Felipe Pardo y Aliaga,² our illustrious compatriot, who in my first years of literary life encouraged me with wise and benevolent counsels, and who knew how to incorporate the creole grace in the character of the Castilian language, enriching it with a new tint, until then unknown; Rufino Cuervo, the most erudite of the investigators of the beauties and of the scoria of the language; and Juan Montalvo,³ that prodigious writer who gave to Castilian new ductilities, and who dared to imitate, as an act of homage and admiration, the inimitable book.⁴ Many more are the writers that our continent has produced for the prestige and benefit

of this rich and beautiful Castilian language, which so well clothes all tendencies of thought and all the shades of ideas.

The ranks of the Peruvian academy being almost cleared by the annihilating action of death during the passage of thirty years, the Spanish academy has thought fit and prudent to reconstitute the divers corresponding corporations of America by filling the vacancies with the writers who have distinguished themselves by the importance and value of their literary labor, and it decided to address itself to the directors and deans of the different Hispano-American academies that they might reorganize the respective corporations, making new proposals of academicians up to the number of eighteen, of which ought to consist each of the corresponding academies. Under date of April 12, 1917, I received the communication of the perpetual secretary of the Spanish academy, the noble critic and commentator upon the writings of the golden age, the señor Cotarelo y Mori, in which he brought to my knowledge the acceptance of the academicians proposed by me, a decision which afforded me the immense satisfaction of seeing for the second time the establishment of an institution of high culture constituted by a select personnel which, because of its intellectual character, would serve to remove the erroneous idea that has always been held regarding the essentially conservative spirit of the academies. I think it opportune to repeat here what I said thirty years ago:

The academies may not be refractory to the law of the renovation of elements and ideals, which is the law of progress, in the spheres of sociability, just as in those of science and art. Please heaven, señores, that we ourselves, inspired by the glorious tradition of our highly esteemed colleagues of the Spanish Royal academy and by the enviable example given in 1791 by the Peruvians who created the academic society of the Lovers of the Patria, may by perseverance in our labors and by intimate cordiality of regard in our personal relations, be able to accomplish a useful and durable enterprise. May discord not shed its poison in the cup of our literary delights; and in the bosom of the academy let us be brothers by the fraternity which art creates.

¹ See INTER-AMERICA for February, 1918, p. 152, foot-note.—THE EDITOR.

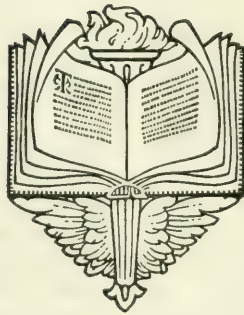
² A noted Peruvian man of letters and statesman, born in Lima, June 11, 1806, died there, December 24, 1868: he spent the years from 1821 until 1828 in Spain; soon after his return to Perú he began to take an active part in the political strife as editor of *Mercurio Peruano* and of *El Conciliador*; afterward he occupied a number of important offices of the government, being minister of foreign relations on two occasions. His works were published in one fine volume with the title *Poesías y escritos en prosa de D. Felipe Pardo*, Paris, 1869, and they do honor to American letters.—THE EDITOR.

³ A distinguished Ecuadorian man of letters and publicist, born at Ambato about 1833, died in Paris, January 17, 1889: he directed the review, *El Espectador*, and was author of the following works: *Mercurial eclesiástica*, *Capítulos que se le olvidaron a Cervantes*, *Siete tratados*, *Geometría moral* and *Calilinarías*, among which *Siete tratados*, and *Capítulos que se le olvidaron a Cervantes* are known and admired throughout the Spanish world.—THE EDITOR.

⁴ The inimitable book is, of course, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*.—THE EDITOR.

I think, señores, the mission that belongs to the Peruvian academy at this new stage of its activity ought to be a reaction against the depravement of aesthetic ideals and against the corruption of the noble Castilian language with which the modern literary generations, either by snobbery or the lack of broad culture, rather than by a sincere evolutionary tendency, are perverting the art of letters. I think progress tends inevitably toward the transformation of ideas and to the broadening of horizons; but progress is neither demagoguery nor flightiness, neither is it artifice nor vandalism in art, neither the negation of ideals nor the brutal destruction of all the experience drawn from the artistic labors of twenty centuries. We ought to make terms with modernism in what it contains of renovation, of freshness, of new points of view, and of the broadening of artistic conceptions;

but the Peruvian academy, if it fulfils its obligation of controlling literary form and the purity of the language, must condemn the follies that are wanting in aesthetic and moral content, the bastard movements of poetic thought, the monstrous deviations from the lyric ideal, and the decline of our literature, which induce the lack of seriousness and solidity with which our youth nourishes its intelligence and easily adopts the extravagances and perversions of the ideal because of the convenience and facility implied by all lack of technique and reverence. To revive veneration for the great Spanish and American masters and the taste for classic art, not because it is old, but because it is good, is a work of spiritual salvation that the Peruvian academy, the university and the Ateneo de Lima might bring to a happy conclusion.



MIRAGES OF THE WAR

BY

ENRIQUE HERRERO DUCLOUX

The author shows that many of the supposed discoveries, inventions and developments, particularly in the realm of chemistry, now being heralded in connection with the great war, are but new applications of processes wrought out painfully, through a long period of time, by many scientists, among divers peoples, and he punctures the bubble of popular fancy regarding the marvel and efficiency of some of the much-lauded products.—THE EDITOR.

IF WE must believe the correspondents of the great newspapers and magazines from the beginning of the war, at first European and to-day world-wide, the apothegm that peace is the mother of the arts and sciences turns out to be a lie. I go so far as to affirm that such is the general opinion at present, even among the cultivated classes, to judge by the questions and consultations that reach me regarding the astounding discoveries and the marvelous inventions of a chemical character that journalistic eloquence has been proclaiming since August 1, 1914. Many are the roots of this fundamental error, and not the least of them, without doubt, is the irresistible attraction of successful force for the multitude, nor may be despised the aureole which the proclamations of science have stretched about laboratories and cabinets of experimentation, presenting them as astonishing green-houses where the savant causes magical flowers to spring up by appeal to formulas drawn from the ancient mysteries.

The first decade of the twentieth century had been so rich in the prodigies of applied science that without effort it was believed to be omniscient and omnipotent, and the dreams of alchemy, the philosopher's stone, the elixir of long life and the dwarf of the advanced disciple of Faust, were all alike considered the playthings of children; but it was forgotten that all this superabundance of marvels, this extraordinary plenitude of gifts, was nothing more than the flowering and the fructification of a tree, prodigal in apples of gold, which was being nourished for many years, although niggard in fruitage, watered by men of many different races, whose roots

seek their juices in the most obscure epochs of history.

Applied science does not admit of improvisations: each of its conquests is a highly complicated adjustment of pieces, on which has been spent the intelligent effort of many investigators; and it represents the culmination of a series of efforts more or less unfruitful, all disappearing as a whole under a common name that covers the names of the parts, many useless, all forgotten.

It has been the lot of the chemical sciences to play a preponderating part in the universal crisis that now oppresses us, and it is on this account that they have been the most innocently calumniated in all the languages, from the first days of the catastrophe. The explosives, with their more or less exotic names, were the first to appear in the sensational telegrams, solving in an instant the major problem of the war; and it was curious to see them spring up in all the countries, new, unknown before, of unheard-of potency, of ridiculous price and of the simplest possible manufacture, as if until then the special institutes, the strongest factories directed by true savants, profound and methodical studies carried on in respect of this subject, had only had as their object to prepare artificial fireworks for village celebrations.

Afterward came asphyxiating gases, and the popular imagination gave such gigantic proportions to the subject that the conquests of synthetic chemistry paled, according to the vulgar, in the presence of green, brown, and reddish clouds, which silently enveloped the armies and bore them away to death, without any one's

pausing to think that these same gases had been employed for many years in peaceful enterprises, in the silence of laboratories and in the turmoil of factories, and that what is taking place now is nothing more than a change of destination, an infernal multiplication of what was before termed accident among the chemists and technical workers who managed chlorine, bromine, oxygenated compounds of mercury or sulphur and so many bodies that the great industries, and those of Germany in particular, have made common throughout the whole world.

The needs created in the central empires by the blockade brought forward questions of the most vital interest, and thence were suggested abracadabran legends regarding the substitutes suddenly discovered for rubber, leather, saltpeter, naphtha, cotton and even for nutritious substances, while it was ingenuously confessed that bells, statues and kitchen ware were being melted in order to obtain copper, and that castles and churches were being unroofed to obtain lead, and that in the belligerent countries all the reserves of gold were being poured out, not excepting the most intimate personal jewelry, in order to be able to struggle against ruin.

Rubber, like camphor and indigo—to cite but a few precious organic bodies recently conquered—could without doubt be manufactured by synthetic methods; but if the last two had succeeded in winning out against their rivals of natural origin in the world market, rubber was far from being able to compete with the gum of the American and African forests, in spite of the brilliant work of Perkin, Harries, Heinemann, and the technicians of the *Farbenfabriken Baeyer*, where more than two hundred graduate chemists work, without this surprising us, since fifteen years of work was necessary on the part of the *Badische Anilin und Soda Fabrik* to triumph with artificial indigo, after they had bought the first patents of Professor Baeyer of Munich.

Saltpeter and its derivatives were problems already solved by many approaches, and in many different countries before 1914, and, consequently, also here are those who consider they are dealing with the victories

of war. The nitrides of Serpek, the cyanides of Faure, the calcium cyanamid of Frank and Caro, the nitric acid of Naville and Guye, of Bradley and Lovejoy, of Kowalsky and Moscieski—without mentioning the electrolytic methods of Helbig Traube, the ammoniacal process of Haber and Le Rosignol, and the biochemic methods of Muntz and Lainé—show in an evident manner that it is neither a man nor even a nation or a race that is capable of accomplishing such a task, and that something more than a day is necessary for the development of the idea that has made it possible to capture the inert, lazy and almost useless atmospheric mercury and transform it into manifold potent, energetic compounds that fertilize the earth or rend the mountains, swish in artificial silk, delight in synthetic perfumery or shine with polychrome tints in the dyes drawn from tar.

The same might be said regarding the substitutes for naphtha, leather, cotton, cork, wool and so many other industrial products, the consumption of which has increased during the struggle; but where the imagination has gone farthest, where the prodigies seem most notable, where the creative power reaches the incredible, is in the group of food substances, and, nevertheless, in no field has the false glory of science made such a fiasco.

Considering only the most common of foods, bread, we can find eloquent arguments that upset the legend of the sudden omnipotence of the laboratories and confirm once more the truth that there is nothing new under the sun. Indeed, as discoveries almost providential, they have presented to us motley mixtures, which, made into dough and shaped, were sold as bread, after submitting to baking in the oven, thus pretending to solve the scarcity or the lack of the flour of cereals, and of wheat in particular.

In justice it ought to be confessed that our correspondents are under no obligation to become acquainted with the kinds of bread that are known to bromatology in connection with the poorer regions of Europe, in ordinary conditions, and with many others, in times of famine, even during peace. If it were so, none of the war

bread, so much recommended by those who do not have to consume them, would have seemed a new thing to them, in comparison with those already known, in the composition of which wheat, corn and even barley and oats were lacking, because they had been totally replaced by rye and the peanut, mixed with considerable proportions of potatoes, powder of wood, pine bark, ground buds of a number of species of trees, oat and barley straw, ground bones and shredded grass of the species *chenopodium*, *polygonum* and *atriplex*.

Even by delving into history, very remote from the present war, could something more be found, and the case is so remarkable that I can not resist the desire to recall it. In the *Satyre Menippée*, which to-day reflects the horrors of the siege of Paris in 1590 during the civil war, there is mention of the ghastly invention of don Bernardino de Mendoza, at that time the ambassador of Spain, who caused bread to be manufactured from ground bones extracted from the cemetery of the Innocents, but who gave up his enterprise on account of the precarious results achieved, and perhaps because he was horrified by the savagery of his discovery.

I do not deny that it may be possible to simplify our present system of nourishment, in Buenos Aires, for example, without any injury resulting to the organism from such a change; as it would be likewise idle to discuss the proper replacement of some products by others equivalent to them without great physiological or hygienic harm; but we are very far from being able to modify all at once or in a

few years the normal operations of our digestive organs, and it is not in the power of man to give a nutritive value to stones.

Against all appearances, I should hesitate to affirm that science, true science, has suffered a stoppage since August 1, 1914, and that its paralyzation will necessarily be felt for many years after the longed for peace shall have been signed. A thick and acrid smoke has enveloped the marvelous hives where, in the shadow and silence, the savants of all the cultured nations were storing the yellow honey designed to feed the future generations, and swarms of working-bees lie prone upon the fields to-day or have been swept away by the waves, while the eternal flowers of the mysteries of nature open their corollas indifferently, waiting for the man-bee to seek in their depths the drop of nectar or the pearl of dew as the reward of his endeavors.

My fears go further still. In this gigantic whirlpool—a roaring maelstrom, where, caught in its grip, contend all the races that constituted our civilization, like a new tower of Babel fallen under a curse—material values fuse and dissolve, while moral values renew and substitute themselves, alter and denaturalize themselves, and, although it be difficult to believe it, no one can give assurance that after the cruel struggle so unimaginable and incredible, humanity will not abandon its old directions, embittered by disillusion and disenchantment, and seek in other paths, far removed from science, the ultimate end of life, its one reason for existence: the conquest of happiness.



THE CIVILIAN REPUBLIC

BY

JULIO VILLOLDO

Convinced that a military type of government and a militarist spirit on the part of the people are unwholesome, both philosophically and in accordance with the world's present bitter lesson of experience, the author demonstrates that in Cuba civic virtues and civilian figures are those which have swayed his countrymen in the choice of their chief magistrates; in demonstrating this he gives a sketch of the leaders who participated in the struggles of the last fifty years, with illuminating reflections upon their minds and characters.

—THE EDITOR.

IT WILL seem strange and somewhat incongruous that at this moment, when the whole world is in contention and a prey to the horrible fever of death and destruction; when innumerable armies are engaged in a frightful duel to the death; when the books of law are closed and the flood-gates of hatred and vilification are opened; when brute force, incarnate in Prussian militarism, seems bent on eradicating all the juridical and political conquests achieved through ages of cruel strife; when the phantom of hunger and poverty already haunts many important cities of America; it will seem strange, we repeat, that at the present hour we embark upon the thesis which is the purpose of this essay.

Nevertheless, however strange it may appear, it is in behalf of the prevalence of civil law, and for the slaughter and extermination of this militarism that all peoples, whole nations in arms in the formidable and shocking encounter, struggle and bleed, impoverish and annihilate themselves.

The work that the French revolution left incomplete; the retrocession that occasioned the so-called reaction of 1816; the immense obstacle in the way of the complete triumph of democracy, which, during the last hundred years, has been constituted by the three empires of Germany, Russia and Austria, is what in the present and transcendent historical moment, seems sometimes about to reach completion, and, at others, about to disappear.

What is taking place in Europe and America is curious: in the midst of the far-spread intrenched fields of battle; of camps in which huge masses of men drill or strug-

gle; of an infinitude of ships of war; of the roar of thousands of fiery mouths; of the medley of martial figures who direct the operations—mingled and confused in this frightful and tragic turmoil—three men, three personages that do not owe their influence and predominance to military prowess, but to their civilian activity, rise supreme: Wilson, the president of the United States of North America; Clemenceau, president of the Council of French Ministers; and Lloyd George, with similar functions in the English ministry. This stupendous intellectual trinity, that knows no other arms than their vibrant pens or their profound and persuasive discourses, is what governs the world, what dictates its laws, what has wrought the wonderful miracle that generals and admirals, covered with glory and blackened by the smoke of battle, should bend the knee, should obey the mandates and should follow the inspirations suggested by this trio.

When the spent hurricane subsides, when passions are calmed by the new gleams of the sun of peace upon the bleeding and smoking ruins of desolated Europe, it will be these men, these brilliant civilian figures or their successors, who will indicate the routes and courses most in harmony with civilization, and will mark out a new direction for human thought; and not the military leaders, who, once their duty to their respective countries shall be fulfilled, will return to the bosom of their homes, content and satisfied to contribute to the reconstruction and aggrandizement of their countries, to continue to be their most effective guaranty for the preservation of order and security,

and not to create new and profounder difficulties.

It was during June, 1913, in the first days of that month, that in the weekly *Gráfico* of Habana was published a notable article by Dr. Ricardo Dolz, entitled the *Vicepresidentes*, and with the subtitle of *Un discurso que nunca pensó pronunciarse*, (A Discourse Never Intended to be Delivered.) This production, of deep political significance, passed, as almost always happens among us, unnoticed.

Dr. Dolz, with true clairvoyance, with the equanimity of a true statesman, outlined in those days of tranquillity and of hope in rectifications, later vanished, the thesis we now take up because we truly and sincerely understand it to be sound doctrine, and in the principles of which are inspired the larger part of the elements that form the generation to which we belong.

The learned professor made reference to the impression which he said was produced on him by the solemn and memorable session held in the senate on the morning of May 20 of that year, the day on which Dr. Enrique José Varona assumed charge of the office of vice-president of the republic, and in which both he and the retiring vice-president, Attorney Alfredo Zayas, pronounced two masterly discourses.

It was an act which, in the judgment of the writer, might be presented as a proud specimen of the civilization of Cuba . . . a ceremony that honors Cuba and will serve as a good exponent in any of the great capitals.

It was in the presence of the greatness and splendor of that spectacle that Dr. Dolz felt inspired and would have pronounced, even at the expense of violating parliamentary practices, the discourse of which the following is the close:

And in concluding, señores senators, let it be observed that in vice-presidents the civilian element predominates. Shall it be a lesson? Shall it be a hope? Please God it may be an augury! Vice-presidents are, as it were, the reserve of presidents. Ah, señores senators, believe that time presses for greater disquisitions. Small republics and modest, like Cuba, strangle themselves with militarism; they are able to live for periods of time, which are

minutes in the life of peoples, as a fish subsists out of water or a man in the depths of the ocean; but if they are to have stable and enduring life, they must be simply and purely civilian and intellectual.

It seems that this brief history of our vice-presidents announces to us that element, indispensable for our future existence, as a reserve, a guaranty of rectification and betterment in the successive life of the republic.

Let the cry uttered here be caught up by those who wish to hear it and can comprehend it. The Cuban republic must be a civilian republic!

A short time afterward Dr. Dolz came to occupy the position of leader of the conservative party; and, according to appearances, neither during the last electoral campaign, nor in that which already quite prematurely begins to be outlined, has he succeeded in causing to prevail, from his high position, the brilliant theme developed in the work on which we are commenting.

Examining in detail the origin of the revolution of Yara,¹ we can affirm that of the innumerable revolutionary movements that have broken out in different countries, none have had a genesis more distinctly civilian, more foreign to all military concurrence, than the movement led by Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, on the night of October 10-11, 1868.

Whether Céspedes was its initiator or whether its true promoter was Francisco Vicente Aguilera, it is certain that the two Bayamese² leaders were civilians, jurists, administrators of abundant wealth, persons not at all versed in the practices of the god Mars.

Their followers, neighbors and confrères, who grouped themselves at their side, were equally wanting in all that relates to military science, so that Enrique Collazo goes so far as to affirm that the majority of the Cuban countrymen had never held firearms in their hands.³

¹The revolution that began on October 10, 1868, at Yara, where Céspedes raised the five-barred flag of revolt.—THE EDITOR.

²An adjective formed, after the Spanish, from Bayamo, a city in the southeastern part of the republic.—THE EDITOR.

³*Desde Yara hasta Zanón*, page 7.

The first figure that appears gifted with a certain military knowledge, acquired in Santo Domingo, whence he sprang, is Luis Mercano, according to many, the savior of the revolution in its first days of trial.

This being noted, we shall not detain ourselves with the beginning of the contest, but we pass on to the constituent assembly of Guáimaro, in our judgment the cradle of Cuban liberty.

Men educated in the doctrines spread by the French revolution; minds that daily partook of the teachings of North American democracy, which had just waged a Titanic combat in order to wipe out the reproach of negro slavery; the members of a society that had contemplated law trampled upon by military commissions which by means of summary proceedings were wont to send to jail and to the prisons of Africa the "suspects" and the "prejudicial;" those who knew the horrors of military leadership in México and South America—it was natural that, in view of certain symptoms and tendencies, they should take all the necessary precautions to prevent a despotic and military dictatorship from springing up in the heart of the redemptive revolution, of the grandiose epic inaugurated at Yara.

Cuba owes much to the truly liberal and democratic ideas of the distinguished and consistent leader named Salvador Cisneros Betancourt, who, in union with his companions, erected in Guáimaro a political monument that should never be lost sight of by us of Cuba.

The doctrine of the Camagüeyanos,¹ however dangerous and mischievous it may have seemed later, even on the supposition that it was the source of the failure of the revolution of 1868, we believe to have been good, since it taught the Cubans to feel a sacred horror of all that was tyrannical, despotic: the genuine military dictatorship.

Carlos Manuel de Céspedes y Quesada, referring to this idea of the Camagüeyanos in respect of not accepting the dictatorship proposed by General Quesada, says the following:

From this agreement sprang the republic, with a constitution in which was expressed whatever a precautionary distrust would suggest to guard against the dictatorship of one man, and by this same excess of caution nothing that could preserve it from the collective tyranny of the chamber, which, as the absolute possessor of power and free from the regulative action of the senate and executive, must necessarily fall into the excesses of an intolerant, absorbent and despotic oligarchy.²

Placed in the dilemma, with the hypothesis that the chamber of that period was what the author affirms, we are inclined to accept what Miguel Sanguily said in commenting on the work of Collazo mentioned:

As for myself, I can say that I should think a long time before voluntarily submitting in the island of Cuba, and probably anywhere else, to a military dictator, armed with a rigid and brutal ordinance.³

As may be seen, the revolution of 1868, both in its origin and in its spirit, possessed a purely civilian tendency and its most cultivated and representative men, Dr. Ignacio Agramonte among them, disliked all military pomp and dominance in everything that had no relation to the course of martial operations.

This opinion, although something else has been proclaimed—precisely, by *civilian* and *judicial* pens, with offensive and repeated insistence—is the one that prevails in Cuba among the immense majority of its constituents.

Who was the word, the essence, the spirit of the revolution of 1895, of the famous Cry of Baïre?

Another civilian, a lawyer, a true literary genius, who had no other arms than his flashing pen and his astounding dialectics: José Martí.

While the veterans of 1868 were becoming discouraged and skeptical—because of the failures represented by what is called the peace of Zanjón and the suppression of the Little war—scattered through the interior of the island, in the Antilles, in

²See the book entitled *Carlos Manuel de Céspedes*, p. 31.

³See *Hojas Literarias: La revolución cubana juzgada por un insurrecto*; year I, No. 2, p. 141.

¹Inhabitants of the province of Camagüey.—THE EDITOR.

the different republics of Central America, or many of them converted to the doctrines of the autonomist party, Martí the untiring apostle continued to preach by pamphlet and newspaper, or, standing upon a platform erected in the modest workshops of the tobaccoists, from whom, from that heroic and unselfish phalanx of workers, he gathered funds for *the cause*.

This continuous propaganda among the immigrants of Tampa, Key West, Philadelphia and New York, did not constitute his most arduous and thorny labor. Another task, more delicate, fuller of difficulties, for which would be required the excellent gifts of a diplomat, of a wise conciliator, was the one that put the talent of Martí to the test: that of harmonizing the wills of the generals of the Great war, separated by deep heartburnings that originated during the epic struggle.

It was exactly this slow, patient care of the man of the closet, of the mind formed in the study and the knowledge of human passions, that permitted Martí to bring to a successful issue his enterprise, the most beset with difficulties.

Had he not been able to conciliate the wills of Máximo Gómez, Antonio Maceo and other veteran chiefs of former revolutions, the struggle of 1895 would never have become the last, the most brilliant, the one crowned by the most flattering success.

In that task of the statesman, of the man of government, of the true civilian, he had three collaborators full of faith, abnegation and probity: Tomás Estrada Palma, Gonzalo de Quesada and Benjamín J. Guerra, the last a figure that seems forgotten and to whom Cuba owes so much gratitude.

Martí, in his interviews with Máximo Gómez, the unconquerable old warrior for Cuban liberties, studied and analyzed all and each one of the causes that provoked the antagonisms and divisions of the struggle of 1868-1878. From that profound exchange of impressions, from that conjunction of the civilian mind with the martial soul, sprang the sublime document which we all know by the name of the *Manifiesto de Montecristi*.

We do not know what might have taken place in the arena of the revolution if Martí had not died in the fateful combat of Dos Ríos; but if it is certain that men are judged by their deeds and their words, we have the full, the absolute assurance that between the apostle, educated in the worship and veneration of democracy, and the generalissimo in the strict compliance of his duty, would have reigned the most complete and indissoluble unity of opinions; that the two leaders, each of them in his sphere, civilian and military, would have respected each other mutually, both coöperating in securing the triumph of their most cherished ideals.

That this was the spirit that the civilians of the revolution of 1895 were able to impress, in spite of the death of Martí, is demonstrated by the fine discourse pronounced by Dr. Domingo Méndez Capote in the closing session of the first national juridical congress, on the night of December 30, 1916, from which the following paragraphs are taken:

The other consequence of the legislative work of the revolution of Yara becomes manifest when it develops in the revolution of '95 the proper juridical sense, or rather, the juridical preoccupation that accompanies the Cuban in his every situation. Also we there attempted immediately to organize our public life by endowing it with proper institutions, and thus arises the constitution of Jimaguayú; but in it more ample authority is given to the military power, an executive is organized with proper and complete functions, the chamber is dissolved, in order to be convened afterward at stated periods, and in functions of administrative fiscalization, constitutional revision and establishment of the laws and regulations that experience would make necessary. In this manner it was thought by the revolutionaries of '95 to correct what the general conviction deemed one of the defects of the constitution of Guáimaro, and it has been seen also as one of the causes of the revolutionary failure of '68, that is, the lack of authority on the part of the military power and the ideal complexity, for the daily necessities of revolutionary conduct, of the civil powers.

Under that constitution of Jimaguayú the civilian and military powers operate, laws are dictated, civil services are organized, the island is divided into states, prefectures and subprefectures, the organic laws of the army and of

administration are redacted; a penal code, a law of criminal procedure and an organic law of the courts are inscribed and applied, a civil register is established; the service of communication, that of workshops and that of the coast-guard are regulated; legislation is enacted upon marriage, a law in which—the partisans of divorce may say it—divorce is established in so radical a sense that I have heard of no one going to that extreme in the discussions of these days: that is, by mutual disagreement.

So, as according to Manuel Sanguily, the true military genius of the revolution of Yara was Ignacio Agramonte, according to us, the three military figures of the greatest prestige in the conflict of 1895 were Máximo Gómez, Antonio Maceo and Calixto García, distinguished veterans of what we call the Great war, who, in spite of the hosts of young and spirited combatants, could not be surpassed by any of them.

Maceo and García being dead, there remained only Máximo Gómez, with the immense laurels and prestige acquired by his memorable invasion of the western provinces in the campaign at the close of 1895 and the beginning of 1896, and by the rigid and unbreakable discipline he knew how to maintain in camp during the three years of the war.

In any other of the countries of Iberian America he would have been the national candidate for the presidency of the republic, elected by the unanimous suffrage of a profoundly grateful people. In Cuba, a territory subject during long years to an unbearable military power, the inhabitants did not lend themselves with pleasure to the setting up of a military regimen, when once liberty was attained; and the debates in what is called the assembly of the Cerro and in the constituent assembly are known to all.

The regimen of the North American military occupation was accepted because there existed no other remedy, granted the turn taken by events after the Spanish-American war, and because of the immense gratitude of a great part of the Cubans, if not of all, toward whomsoever had contributed effectively to accomplishing the liberation of our country.

When the political parties existing prior

to 1902 were called upon to designate candidates for the presidency of the republic, they chose two personages of civilian actuation, two men who had always shone by their civic virtues and not by their martial prowess: Bartolomé Maso and Tomás Estrada Palma.

The latter being elected president, Cuba, during the first four years of its government, saw developed, with the exception of inevitable errors and shortcomings, one of the most fruitful civilian movements that it has been granted to any people to contemplate. "Teachers and not soldiers" was the device of the worthy successor of José Martí.

The revolt of August, 1906, produced a change in the ideas of some of the constituents of the Cuban nation.

Talk was begun of the need of "a strong man," of a spirit who, in spite of *having been a rebel*, would be able to oppose the rebelliousness of others; and Máximo Gómez being now dead at that time, we turned to another general of the same name, who, in his character as civil governor of towns, had distinguished himself in that administrative office as a man of energy and character, and who, previous to the reelection of Estrada Palma, had already entertained aspirations toward the presidency of the republic: General José Miguel Gómez. Being nominated candidate by the liberal party in 1909, the conservative party chose upon the same principle; and another figure of the revolution, whose brilliant work as the administrator of the Central Chaparra had brought him into note, was designated to contend against General Gómez: General Mario Menocal.

Apparently, "swords were trumps,"¹ yet in the judgment of the writer, the civilian labors of the energetic ex-governor and of the upright and diligent administrator were what counted, what the people were anxious to have in the executive of the nation.

Indeed, passing over all that refers to the electoral campaigns and to the respec-

¹An allusion to the fact that "swords" is one of the suits in a deck of Spanish cards.—THE EDITOR.

tive election of these two Cuban generals just named, we will say that the *civilian spirit* is to such an extent rooted in the constituency of this people that these two personages, in their character as presidents of the republic, have always been, to tell the truth, more civilian than military men.

In the selection of the persons who have been and are their secretaries of state, the elements with civilian affiliations have always predominated, for, although some of them boast of military titles, according to our view they are the rather physicians, lawyers and engineers than real military men.

In spite of the fact that the constitution invests the president of the republic with the dignity of commander-in-chief of the naval and military forces, neither did General José Miguel Gómez abandon, nor has General Mario Menocal abandoned, the civilian dress, even on the occasions when they reviewed the troops, nor even when, upon the occasion of their departure upon a campaign, they went to take leave of them. They have left to the military chiefs and to the army the mission of reëstablishing order.

If none can deny this character, because it is within sight of all; if Cuba, in every epoch of its history, even in the unfortunate days of its revolutions, has taken care to maintain intact its civil and juridic character, why is there made—by certain civil and judicial pens—the affirmation that “civilian presidents are not possible in it?”

If this pernicious preachment were true, it would be necessary to blot out all

the glorious revolutionary past, to banish the memory of the constitution of Guáimaro, the teaching of Martí, the conduct of Salvador Cisneros Betancourt and Estrada Palma; it would be necessary, in a word, to wipe from the existing fundamental charter its eleventh article, which, like an advance sentinel, recalls that:

All Cubans are equal before the law. The republic recognizes neither personal exemptions nor privileges.

We, that is to say, the generation to which we belong, feel a great love, a profound gratitude for all the martyrs and liberators of Cuba, for those who like Céspedes, Martí, Aguilera, Agramonte, Maceo and so many others, offered life and fortune upon the altar of their country; for those who in jails and prisons and in the hirsute jungle suffered privations and pangs innumerable; for those who escaped, their coffee plantations and sugar mills converted into cinders; for those who lost the exuberance of their youth and renounced the gift of health in diseases contracted in camp.

We, however, sons of the twentieth century, are not able to accept it that a republic formed for liberty and law, wrought to suppress castes and privileges, should pretend to inculcate in its masses the idea that only those who flourish gold lace may be presidents.

Parodying José Martí, we shall say that the presidency of the republic ought to be occupied by *all, military men or civilians, who are able to fill it with prestige and probity.*



FORCES LOST IN OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY¹

BY

ENRIQUE RUIZ GUIÑAZÚ

A serious study of an important aspect of the economic situation in Argentina, in the light of conditions produced by the great war, and based upon a recent census; the author finds much to criticize in the censal method of his country, he condemns the prevalent waste in the productive forces, both through what he calls "economic passivity" and through occasional unemployment, he calls attention to the necessity for restricting immigration to the mentally and physically competent, and he indicates wholesome methods of governmental regulation and philanthropic coöperation.—THE EDITOR.

THE European conflagration will inevitably give character to an epoch of the history of the world, although it is impossible to indicate the definitive directions of its action. We are able to discern certain facts that are not entirely definite, but so sufficiently marked that their effects may not be denied. The military activity is so profound and potent that it is not an exaggeration to say that of necessity the neutral world has become involved in the warp of its phenomena.

No social question can be analyzed in the future, from whatever point of view, without referring it expressly to this event; and we shall therefore describe, in the study of the problems, the aspects which they present before and after the Titanic conflict. In a word, the war will form a dividing line in the process and existence of all nations.

It can be affirmed that while the struggle continues brutally and without truces, a state of general expectancy has been imposed for the first time upon the annals of the world: for certain countries it has been translated into a paralyzation of forces; for others, into a complete disorganization of their productiveness; and there are others whose stability is shaken to the greatest depths of their generative centers.

Daily we inform ourselves of the measureless efforts put forth by the nations in defense of their existence. Human needs, boundless in number, have found in what is called the law of the substitution of economic wealth the apparent solution

of a necessarily frugal and temporary satisfaction. Inventions of all kinds show the state of intellectual excitation in which the man of Europe exists, in order to silence the clamors of hunger. If the balance of the belligerent countries has already begun to be formulated, it is by means of counting up apparently fantastic figures, the true subtractum of all that has occurred.

In the Argentine republic are felt, beneath the ostentatious vigor of its wealth, the tremor of the future social reorganization. There is no need of much sagacity to perceive the symptoms of the already initiated transformation, nor even the excessive prudence that would palliate the shocks of the economic and political cataclysm that is embittering civilization. Let us not forget that we are in the presence of a struggle of rivals in culture, in contradictory aspirations, spiritual and barbarous, of brains and stomachs, of hatreds and egotisms, of two philosophies in combat!

The American Professor Reinsch, in a suggestive and interesting study, says that the nineteenth century has been a period of nationalism, but that the twentieth will be one of national imperialism, and he adds that the interpretation of Machiavelli, "advocatus diaboli" of the modern historians and the literary critics, clearly indicates the political temperament of the present era.

The powerful nations consider them-

¹ A dissertation presented at the Instituto Popular de Conferencias, Buenos Aires, August 10, 1917.—Note of *Revista de Ciencias Económicas*.

selves exclusively. A vast literature, immediately anterior to the universal conflagration, has occupied itself with Latin America in an aggressive, bitter and unjust form. Their publicists, moved by utilitarian sentiments, speak of strong races and weak races, of capable peoples and incapable peoples. Greater frankness is unnecessary, to the point of rendering superfluous all estimates, "since the center of gravity of every policy is," according to one of these writers, "in the economic field," which is the center and standard from which to proceed to classification.

I consider the moment opportune, because it is grave and transitional, for coming to a stop on our highway. I deem it highly useful to take an inventory of our values—employing this word in its broadest sense—in order to determine disciplines and correct tendencies, which often we have not desired to verify, making ourselves giddy with deceptive hymns, and but stirring the surface of the ground in the field of our labors.

Ordinarily we have contemplated only one phase of the question. Our impression has always been gained from statistical tables, the columns of which show flattering totals. Diagrams and graphic representations of all kinds demonstrate a visible progress in our wealth; commerce and the industries extend and accumulate. We have gone forward at great speed, without fathoming the determining factors of this great production, imitating perhaps partially those automobilists who devour the roads and reach the end of their journey with no other view than the dust along the way.

A little repose then is necessary, since only meditation is possible in view of the curtailment imposed by the European pain and anguish. On the plane of reality, with responsibilities to face and grave questions to solve, it is not wise to let ourselves be drawn unconsciously into the tumultuous current in which the vessel takes no thought of the course it is following.

In the present circumstances we ought to coöperate resolutely in collective labors; the country requires, with more ardor than ever, the devotion of an efficient

competency to the management of public affairs, and it is unpardonable not to respond to so sacred and vital a demand. I confide, moreover, in the will and good sense of the directors of the state, on condition that they evidence by deeds the goodness of their intentions. The task calls for brains, for none can govern without ideas, being thus a hindrance to the progressive rhythm of production, prone to become paralyzed as an effect of enervating retraction and pessimism.

I have accepted, señores, an invitation to occupy this honorable platform for the purpose of speaking sincerely, as is my wont, upon a concrete question, until now unstudied as a whole; imperfectly known, in its manifestations and its deleterious effects and consequences. I refer to the structure of our economic population, the physiognomy of which remains hazy, clouded through certain systematic investigations. The elements of study are unfortunately incomplete, and let this be a cause, the excuse for my not having been able to perfect this production, as it would have been my desire to do.

In the manifestations of economic life there is always a duality, as on medals we find an obverse and a reverse. Political economy, reduced more and more to a science, studies human facts with constant observation. It has blotted out from its program the *homo economicus*, as absurd because imaginary, and it limits its tasks to the reality of social life. It speaks of production and consumption, including man in the consideration, and seeking the adequate means for the betterment of his condition.

We know that labor, in the sense given it by political economy, is in itself a producer of income. In production, the three factors computed by the classic economists do not play perhaps an identical part, but labor is gaining upon nature and upon capital. The annual labor of a nation, Adam Smith has said, is the primitive wealth that supplies for its consumption the things necessary and proper for its life, and these things are always the immediate product of labor.

Labor is a law of life, and every man has a right to it. There is nothing more irri-

tating than the contemplation of idleness. It induces hatreds and envies in the ranks of the proletariat; and for the future it involves collective ill-being. Economists, in general, are agreed in indicating the problem of labor as the social question that determines the fate of the population. It would be arbitrary to remove their study from the life of the laborer. As there is always talk of production and wealth, it is proper to learn as to who are the producers and who will not or who can not be producers.

One of our principal sources of information will be, as may readily be supposed, the work of the census of 1914, taken under authorization of law number 9108.

It should be said that we have fixed our attention on the population of the republic, arranged according to professions. The census of the population in general was, as the introduction to volume I expresses it: "all the most complete and full that can possibly be achieved among us, in this respect . . ." (page VII). In the presence of this affirmation, we expected to have at hand the necessary demographic data for developing this study. However, on going into the particulars of the census of the professional population, which, because of its character and nature, ought to give us sufficient light upon the economic question investigated, it is not without surprise that we learned: first, that the census commission had not concerned itself with taking "a special census of the professions" (page 247); second, that, in spite of having included, in the personal blank, question number 10 pertaining to the case, the compilation of the data gave material only for affording, according to the words of the directors, "almost the statistics of the social classes" (page 245). This discrepancy in enumeration reveals a marked lapse regarding the most fundamental question.

So then the census is "almost the statistics" elaborated upon *age*, which, if indeed it is an acceptable basis for a school census, it is not so from the point of view of economic activity; without mentioning, besides, certain contradictory conceptions and the insertion of an amphibolog-

ical category, located between "persons who do not work and those who do work" (page 245), the result of which does not afterward appear.

When the deputy Dr. Montes de Oca outlined the program of this undertaking, he said with talent and learning that censuses ought not to be limited to the making of an inventory, but that they ought to include demography in all its phases, with the comprehensive criterion of our day, and with the necessary amplitude, so that the conclusions might serve as a premise for the work of sociologists, legislators, statesmen, etc.¹ He desired to indicate by this means that censuses ought to possess a scientific finality, by seeking to ascertain the causality of the national life in its manifold aspects, that is, that statistics—an auxiliary science *par excellence*—should be, through observation, the faithful collection of facts quantitatively expressed, using as an instrument the science of numbers, the first-born offspring as it is, according to the well known expression, of the calculation of probabilities.

In the third national census, the professions, trades and means of livelihood of the population were listed according to a very different criterion from that employed in the United States or the German empire—countries, that, without a doubt, are correct guides in this respect—and which may be cited as models in all that relates to social economy.²

¹ *Diario de sesiones de la cámara de diputados, 1912*, vol. I, p. 888.

² If we desire to know the professional figures of the census, we have 3,233,253 enrolled, with a profession, from 14 years up; 1,793,661, without a profession (p. 251); let us add now children excluded, 14 years and under, 2,858,323; and we obtain 7,885,237 inhabitants, that is to say, a different total. The total population of the nation, according to the census, was, June 1, 1914, counting those added afterward to the compilation, 7,905,502 inhabitants, but, in spite of the fact that the additions alluded to were taken definitely, there is still maintained the existence of a third figure: 8,094,084 inhabitants, by virtue of other further additions, not computed in the tables; whence it results that none of the conclusions to which the mentioned investigation reaches are verified with regard to the last figure, altering therefore all the proportions and calculations, with the omission of more than 200,000 persons. It is not venture some to suppose then that if a new search, inventory and classification of data be made, on the basis of severely critical statistics, we should arrive at another and different sum for the total population of the republic.

It is proper, however, to note, before proceeding, that a critical study of the work of the census does not fall within the province of this lecture; but as it is indispensable to refer to it, whenever one has need to appeal to an official and specialized publication in the examination of social phenomena, data ought to be supplied upon the subject we treat, in order to avoid forced interpretations and false deductions.

It is not my desire to dwell upon this topic, however attractive the verifications may be, because it does not take away from the censal publication any very appreciable basic value. A mixture of the fundamental and the embryonic, we ought to accept it as a source all the more useful in proportion to the greatness of the obstacles encountered by its untiring directors in making it.

There is established then the professional *state*, a synonym of activity, but the movement of economic *production*, properly speaking, is not estimated. For this reason we are not able to count as a positive factor, in the dynamics of the national economy, the 3,233,253 registered as exercising a profession or earning a livelihood. We should commit a grave error in accepting such a figure, since there are included in it professions and trades that are removed to a relative degree from the notion of economic value, as is the case with the 218,149 persons in domestic service; those employed in the army and navy, with certain exceptions; a considerable proportion of those in the public service; horse-jockeys, public charges, beggars, etc., who contribute nothing to public and private wealth. The figures could still further be reduced by subtracting from them all those who, possessing professional titles, do not exercise their profession, and all those who, pensioned or retired, generally at a mature age, live at the expense of the country.

It is evident then that the censal table represents, as a whole, a force of action that is basic for progress, but from which it is proper to subtract some 350,000 unproductive individuals, leaving a remainder of 2,900,000 people who work, against 5,000,000 who live supported by

them. In short, there work in the republic only approximately 38 per cent. of the population, the remaining 62 per cent. of it being negative for national wealth. Finally, it is necessary to establish that the number of workers in the country, including men, women and children, was 2,332,761, of whom, according to the engineer Alejandro E. Bunge,¹ 414,000, that is to say, 17.7 per cent. of the working population, are out of employment.

Following the classification of reputable sociologists and economists, we shall denominate as the active economic population, the total number of persons who devote their physical and mental powers either to the production of material wealth or to rendering personal services. This means that those who can not or will not work constitute the passive economic population, in that they do not secure their means of existence from the pure and simple result of their labor. They are those who form the ranks of human parasitism. This population is represented by the idle in general, whether their attitude be voluntary or involuntary.²

For the systematic exposition of the forces lost to national economy, it is proper to establish categories, following the experience of reputable authors on the subject. The categories generally adopted are the following: 1. Those who are unable to work because of peculiar *biological conditions* induced by age, sex, infirmity or invalidity, the last being occasioned by misfortune or crime. 2. Those who can not work because of peculiar *social conditions*, among others, the unemployed, the recluses, public charges, etc. 3. Those who will not work in spite of having the necessary capacity for working.

The qualitative and quantitative analysis of all the elements indicated will enable us to reach conclusions regarding this vital problem that is of indisputable importance for our republic—which has defined and diffused its productive life over a considerable extent of fertile land—and the advantages of the employment of capital, in spite of the oft-repeated scarcity of hands.

¹La desocupación en la Argentina, 1917.

²See principally M. Andrea d'Ambrosio: *Pasividad económica*, 1911.

The economic significance of immigration is inseparable from this question, although it is only a correlative theme, since the development of national activity is a consequence, not only of the productive capacity of the Argentines, but also of the migratory movement.

By computing these factors, it is possible to give to man, the subject of economic life, an intelligent orientation. The present study is foreign to the problem of population, strictly speaking, and to the means conducive to its solution. On the other hand, I am the first to recognize that any people, even the most advanced and progressive, will never reach a perfect harmony between its economic high point and the growth of its population. There is reason enough then for not falling into distressing assertions regarding our country. It ought to aspire, however, to reduce the discrepancies by bettering itself morally, intellectually and technically. Moral discipline and the progress of institutions, properly conceived, may prevent difficulties. Many aspects of this same question would lead us to the opposite extreme, that is, to fascinating optimisms.

We shall now occupy ourselves with the negative phase, or that of inactivity, the cause and source of the heaviest burden upon the general economy.

In the first place, children can not work, since they are not biologically conditioned to do so. The cause is natural and immediate: their age, which has not provoked the necessary physical and mental development.

According to the general census, there appear without profession 2,858,323 children under fourteen years of age. These data as a whole are not satisfactory. The fact of suppressing in the professional census the classification pertaining to minors of fourteen years, in spite of its being known that many work, is equivalent to overlooking the provisions of the law governing the work of minors, number 5,291 (October 14, 1907), in which it is set forth that the work of those under ten years of age may not be subject to contract; nor may the work of those over ten years of age be the subject of contract, they being included in the age covered by the

school law, if they have not completed their compulsory instruction. Nevertheless, children of this class may work, according to legal prescription, when their labor shall be necessary for the support of themselves, their parents or their brothers and sisters. The regulation that fixes on ten and fourteen years as the ages for the admission of minors is for the whole country. For the capital it has been provided (article 9) that the labor of children of twelve years may not be employed in industrial establishments. On the other hand, the statistics of the national department of labor show that the number of minors who work in factories, workshops and offices, in the city of Buenos Aires alone, reaches 20,000, without counting the extraordinary number of newspaper vendors, messengers, boot-blacks, etc.¹

We ought therefore to deduct a considerable number from the censal figures, inasmuch as we must compute the statistics of provinces and territories, which are not known. The industrial and commercial census, taken since 1908 by the ministry of agriculture, is an interesting but inconclusive enterprise. The work of minors is regulated by legislation everywhere throughout the republic, it being fixed at ten years as the minimum limit. We have in the country 688,982 children of from ten to fourteen years. Information of a general character permits us to fix upon 10 per cent. of this population as elements of economic activity, which has a considerable bearing on the problem of the protection of children in the field of industry and commerce.

Let us note the other extreme. In a man's work, time is an essential factor, and the duration of the useful life determines the economic condition of a nation. It is not possible to work all the years of human existence; not more than forty are the years that can be applied to labor. According to illustrations of the economist

¹See *Anuario estadístico del trabajo*, 1914, p. 172. In 1914 there were 5,586 with employment books, and, between the ages of 10 and 13, 2,211, in the federal capital. In 1916 employment books were issued to 5,215 minors—3,850 males and 1,365 females. Altogether, from 1912 until 1916, in the city of Buenos Aires alone, there were issued 16,426 employment books.

Gide, the demographic situation most favorable for a country is that in which the number of persons who belong to the productive period of life shall be proportionately the highest.

Ordinarily immigration, for the regions that receive it, is a sign of prosperity, since immigrants come to it already grown up, which means to say, when they are productive.

In the analysis of the forces lost to national economy, it is undeniable then that we ought to limit the number of those enrolled as laborers to those of productive age.

Old age is, if the expression be permitted, a disease without remedy. The aged are the first victims of unemployment; their influence on economic passivity is visible at a glance.

However, what is the age limit that must be set in order to establish a category of people incapable of labor? There is no exact basis for judgment, since the circumstances of the environment and the strength of the individual organism lead to different conclusions.

At all events, it is necessary to assign a limit, and perhaps the legal conception gives us the correct solution. Thus, for example, our immigration law considers as immigrants, according to its provisions, the foreign journeyman, artisan, industrial and farm-hand of less than sixty years; which signifies that the law has considered as relatively useless laborers of the age indicated, and therefore, as having the right to a well earned rest.¹

If we take the statistical tables, we observe that immigrants have reached our port at too advanced an age, comprised between fifty and sixty years, who, journeymen, day-laborers and farm-hands, in the main, worn out with incessant work, can offer only a limited service. On the other hand, the lack of rigid supervision has facilitated the ingress into the country of a population not sufficiently sound in its make up, which has made heavy demands occasionally upon social assistance, burdening disproportionately the ministrations of beneficence.

¹In 1913, to cite only one year, there entered 3,299 persons over sixty years of age.

Our authorities, during the last decade, have bestirred themselves in the effort to reduce a complacency, which, if continued, would have provoked a disorganization of our social structure. The action of the present directory general of immigration, which has adopted wise regulations for receiving sound and honest laborers from Europe and for incorporating them into the army of labor, is to be commended. Thus, it calls attention to the number of the sick, demented, invalided, sexagenarians and people of corrupt life, rejected by the inspectors of immigration, beginning with the year 1911.

Their action was strengthened by the decree of April 26, 1916, in which, for the first time, after the many years of existence of the law of immigration, its application was regulated, and persons organically incapacitated, such as the blind, paralytic, invalided, demented, mendicant, etc., were considered useless for labor. In the last category were included the professional mendicants, women living alone with children under ten years of age, gypsies, etc., the last a true plague, which, if not opposed, takes up its abode in plazas, streets and parks. The problem of the age of immigrants has consequences for social life. If through curiosity we collect certain figures, according to the information of the census, we observe that there appear: from fifty to sixty years, 90,957 Argentine males, against 143,362 foreign males. Between 1895 and 1914, the dates of the last two annual censuses, the number of old people, ranging between sixty-one and seventy years, has increased 10 per cent. These, according to my judgment, are not cases of longevity only, but the genuine result, in the main, of the immigration of aged laborers.

Be it so; if we total the absolute population, from sixty-one to the latter age, we note in the republic the existence of 323,467 aged persons, against 121,620 old people in the census of 1895; or a difference of 201,847 in nineteen years. During this lapse of time, in which the population of the nation has doubled, the number of old people has tripled! In accepting the age of sixty years as that of decadence on account of age, I must except the liberal

professions, in which the useful life reaches a higher figure, as also that work in them is wont to begin later than in the life of the laborer. However, the economists, among others, Levasseur, estimate that old age begins after sixty years, the age that is usually recognized by some of the laws of administrative pensions and military retirements.

Among the factors of economic passivity the sociologists include women. Regarding this theme, the European war has provoked a revolution within the ranks of labor. Before the conflagration, woman was considered anatomically inferior in respect of many industrial occupations. Nevertheless, for a long time she had a place reserved for her in productivity. In the census of 1914 appear 3,658,214 women. Of them, 516,357 are Argentines, and 198,536 are foreigners, with a profession, that is, 714,893. There are listed likewise 1,535,990 without a profession. The remainder of the females are under fourteen years and are not counted.

Woman aspires more and more each day to become independent; she works in public offices, in commerce, in the industries. Law number 5,291 establishes measures of protection in her favor **against** the abuses of industrialism. Numerous congresses of social economy have concerned themselves with woman in the factory, where she has been thrust as a corollary of the deficits in the family budget. She endeavors with her wages to augment the insufficient wages of her husband. In the federal capital there are 40,228 women employed in industry and commerce. In the republic some 415,000 women devote their working years to labor in agriculture, cattle-raising, commerce, industries and the manual arts; 6,000, in the public service, and more than 40,000, in the tasks of instruction, education, etc.

Any one who is acquainted with the environment of labor ought to be pleased that our female population makes so slight a contribution to the workshop and the factory. In the present belligerent countries, woman occupies the place of man, even in the industries most injurious to health. Exact data are lacking for presenting fully the new social question that

will present itself in the future in an alarming manner. It will not be easy for women to become resigned to losing the economic independence won and guaranteed by high wages,

Plutarch recounts that in the treaty of peace that terminated the war between the Sabines and the Romans, the former stipulated that their daughters should not be subjected to other labor than that of spinning wool. We are, however, living in other times. . . . The great modern industries have drawn the delicate women into tasks that previously constituted the monopoly of men. Mechanism has equalized the physical powers of men and women. This is revealed by France, where, of 4,000,000 professional women, 1,000,200 work in the industries. In the United States, according to the evidence of the census of 1910, in the manufacturing industries there figure 1,516,000, but of these only 1,290,389 are workers of more than sixteen years. In certain industries, the women workers represent more than 40 per cent. of the total manual labor. Women workers are numerous in the states of the Atlantic, where the textile industries predominate.

Feminism as a whole announces the emancipation of woman, thus withdrawing her from the occupations and the environment proper to her condition, and transforming her into a being without enchantments and without sensibility. Roosevelt has already said in his *Strenuous Life*:

The man must be glad to do a man's work, to dare and endure and to labor; to keep himself, and to keep those dependent upon him. The woman must be the housewife, the helpmeet of the homemaker, the wise and fearless mother of many healthy children.

I do not desire to exceed the limits of a rigorous synthetic exposition, and on this account I shall not invade other realms than those of social economy. Summing up, we may say that the difficulties attending feminine work in the factory are: the diminution of the birth rate, the degeneration of the race and the disorganization of the family. These grave consequences, however, might be tolerated temporarily in the presence of a patriotic

duty; and therefore I am not inclined to criticize the fact that 1,000,000 women, in defense of national sovereignty, for example, manufacture occasionally in European establishments munitions for cannon of heavy caliber and model projectiles by guiding the frightful torrent of steel. . . . On the other hand, neither is labor in the home a solution of the problem, as it produces the enormous question of starvation wages and the *sweating system*.¹

We have included *disease* among the causes of economic passivity. Within the general lines of the problem it is necessary to distinguish between the permanent and the temporary character of this hindrance to work. We must at once remark that in the statistics of the mutual benefit societies, in France, for example, founded upon the experiences of millions of members, the average period of sickness per annum amounts to seven days for the person of middle age. This reveals to us that the loss of values by the cause noted is fatal in any producing country.

Going more deeply into the question, however, it is necessary to determine the intensity of this factor in the national laboring masses. The census of 1914, like the censuses that preceded it, shows an investigation of certain data related to the *physical condition* of the inhabitants, limiting this investigation to the sick, blind and deaf mutes only; which is to be regretted in view of the fact that those who are affected with mental incapacity are heavy burdens upon society; and there exist, besides, those invalidated by labor, that is, whose disability was occasioned by accidents while at work.

The census, but slightly instructive in this respect, gave "the number of persons who are sick in bed at this moment," the figure being 88,866, or 1,127 for each hundred thousand inhabitants. The data supplied in this form are lacking in interest, inasmuch as they give us no information on which to base a scientific conclusion of any kind. We may add the same regarding the 6,856 of the blind and 7,798 deaf mutes living in the republic.

Regarding the sick, it concerns us to

know who can do absolutely no work, and who are not able to work at certain definite labors. Among the former are to be included those who suffer from rickets, the lame, the demented, etc.

Blindness and deafness are not fundamental causes of inactivity in our times, above all, in the presence of the admirable education received by those affected with these infirmities for the purpose of rendering them economically independent. It is known that in Japan, where there are 5,000 blind persons, 98 per cent. earn their living as masseurs; in Italy, of 16,000 deaf mutes, one half are horticulturists and foresters, etc. More importance have other data not presented. It is sufficient to remember the information of the national department of hygiene regarding malaria, tuberculosis and leprosy, and the statistical tables offered by the well known alienist, Dr. Cabred, in order to comprehend the scope of other diseases whose permanent character constitutes grave obligations for the state. Law number 4,953, ordaining the creation of local asylums and hospitals for the aid and treatment of every kind of disease, represents a national outlay of 14,000,000 pesos, national money.²

We have in the country 3,096 insane persons detained in hospitals, but the number is double this in reality. The increase of the demented is a general fact, provoked by vice, overwork and alcoholism.

From the economic point of view, disease has extremely far-reaching effects. The loss of working time by laborers is enormous. In England, for example, it is calculated that of the population comprised between the ages of fifteen and sixty-five years, each operative loses twenty days a year. Among us, taking the 190 hospitals, of which statistics have been published, we see listed 939,558 cases in the year 1914. Instructive figures regarding the loss of a great number of laboring days that occurred that year, to which additions must still be made, are those of the sick who were attended in their domiciles. We have likewise 170 public homes that contain

¹ English in the original.—THE EDITOR.

² About \$6,300,000, gold.—THE EDITOR.

17,139 beds. The society of beneficence gives shelter every year to some 6,500 persons. It may be affirmed that in the Argentine republic almost half a million inhabitants annually avail themselves of the protective action of social aid and provision.

The national department of labor informs us, on the other hand, that there have occurred in the federal capital alone, in one year, 13,604 accidents, of which 127 were fatal, 317 produced the total or permanent incapacity of the victims, and 13,160 were partially incapacitated.¹

If we pass now to the study of the second category, that is, of those prevented from working by peculiar social conditions, we shall say that of all the risks in the life of the laborer, the enforced shut-down is most to be feared and the most irremediable. It was defined by Conford as the "cancer of the heart." The unemployed constitute the most numerous category of involuntary idleness, since it is a question of persons out of work, although possessing the will and the capacity to work. It assumes the proportions of a national problem and obeys collective social and economic causes which fall only upon the working classes.

General causes, such as a crisis, special causes, incident to industry, such as mechanism and the unconscious changes of fashion, causes peculiar to labor, such as insufficient technical preparation, form as a whole the grounds of unemployment. Because of these circumstances, an author observes that "the shut-down is a kind of storm-center," where the passage of laborers is renewed without ceasing.

The phenomenon undergoes periodical oscillations. The statistics make known to us the number of days lost, that is, the total of days passed without work by the laborer, the number of individuals who are the victims of unemployment, and the figures of the cases that have occurred, mentioning in this respect that on occasions a single laborer represents two or three annual cases. Thus, we come to possess an elevated coefficient of professional unemployment.

It is an axiomatic principle that where there are laborers there will be unemployment; nevertheless, we may not fold our arms in the presence of its persistence, and it concerns the government to reduce its enormous injuries. The economists adduce preventive means for remedying the scourge, such as the regulation of production and consumption, the diminution of the number of workmen, public works, professional schools, a return to agriculture, etc. Correlatively, curative means are offered, such as employment bureaus, insurance, saving, the last of these being a luxury for the laborer.

Among us, it is necessary to devise a coördinated plan for avoiding the piling up of temporary work in any one year, in order that laborers may not be solicited simultaneously, but in succession, reducing present disorder and removing the danger of the immigration of competent workmen.

This problem concerns in like manner the moral and social point of view; it is the road to vagrancy and crime. The laborer out of work is generally a capable man, misled by the perfidious suggestions of evil, all the more disposed to decadence in proportion as he is removed from the normal life of work, granted the fascinating attraction of great cities.

It has been discovered by a sagacious observer that the activity of the country, beginning with 1912, has not assimilated the whole of the immigration, due to the fact that production has not continued its development with the same speed. Before that year, certain circumstances made compensations easy, and if the immigrant was not absorbed by agriculture, the other industries assimilated him. In periods of prosperity and of great movement in capital, the country could support without danger a working population in excess of its needs. It was only in 1914 that the distressing condition made itself visible. On account of the European war, the remainders of immigration have disappeared, the effects of forced shut-downs being thus relatively neutralized. This, however, does not take away from the importance of the problem, which, during certain months of the year, assumes unexpected proportions.

¹Consult A. M. Unsain: *Accidentes del trabajo*, 1917.

From another point of view, this same question is complicated by the costliness of living and the reduction of wages, a genuine antinomy,—may their possible distressing consequences not precipitate the present evil state of things. The fate of our country, only just become slightly independent of Europe, depends upon powerful factors. Up to the year 1904, the figures of immigration showed favorable balances, with an average of 48,000 individuals who settled annually in our country. In 1905, the lack of hands and the increase in salaries produced a favorable balance of 134,000 immigrants, a figure which, with but a slight variation, persisted until 1913, the mean immigration being 163,447. In 1914, as I have already said, immigration was cut down for two reasons: the lack of employment and the breaking out of the war in Europe. The balance, until then favorable to the country, has been converted into an unfavorable one, or rather, a negative one.

Nevertheless, although the problem be diminished, it does not lose its importance, for it is necessary not to forget that the working population experiences, like every other, a natural increase. Every year a certain number of persons reach the working age. According to the calculations of specialists, during the last five years laborers increased automatically by 200,000 in the whole country.

I shall add that the second category of the so-called passive classes admits of the inclusion of prisoners, recluses and those who receive aid, in the main, prevented from working, in spite of their partial aptitude, and the cases of enforced idleness, mitigated slightly, however, by reform and the modernization of prison management.

We have formed, finally, a third category of those who do not wish to work. In this are found individuals injurious to the national economy: beggars, tramps and people of corrupt life, that is to say, those who fill the ranks of organized extortion. With respect to mendicants, prominence is given to professional beggars, the exploiters of benevolent charity, who throng the great cities. Perhaps there do not exist in Buenos Aires schools of simulation, as in

Paris and elsewhere, but there are fraudulent and false beggars who escape the control of society and the police. More than one of them carry to the savings-bank a neat sum as the product of their lucrative street pickings. Public mendicancy is so persistent that the coöperation of concerns organized from professional pauperism may be assumed without exaggeration. Children—the innocent artists of their own degradation—are the most exposed to ir reclaimable lapses, being exploited by adults, the sustainers of evil instincts that lead to hardening into inevitable delinquency.

As to those classified as tramps, whether because of a lack of lodgings and fixed domiciles or for want of occupations and means of subsistence, as well as because of their invincible dislike of work, they are easily confused with other persons dangerous to the social order, eternal cosmopolites who constitute in the contemporary epoch the antithesis of those adventurous types of the sixteenth century who also roamed through the towns and villages of Spain with sword, cloak and guitar.

The census does not list more than 994 mendicants in the whole republic. This figure does not represent the reality, perhaps because a statistical investigation is very difficult when it is a question of an unconfessed occupation. There is lacking also the population of the prisons and in general a statement as to all those aspects of delinquency whose nature is a subject foreign to the present dissertation.

We must now make a brief commentary upon strikes. They cause an obstruction of work of a temporary duration, assuming, according to circumstances, a general or a partial character. Whether of one kind or another, they give rise to a sudden increase in the economically passive population.

Precisely in economic life, where contradictory factors strive together, capitalists on one side and laborers on the other, there occurs as a corollary of this struggle an episode, the strike, perhaps the most dramatic of its exponents. It is the defensive means of the laborer, his weapon, his lever of action. It involves a plausible solidarity and the perturbation of the economic field. It is, under all aspects, a

difficult problem, since its scope reaches from one extreme to another, that is, from a paralyzation of labor, legitimate in itself, to a reprehensible and unjust upheaval on account of the violences that accompany it.

In our city of Buenos Aires, during the past year of 1916, there occurred 80 strikes, in which 24,321 workmen participated, costing 785,000 pesos, national money, as the minimum loss in wages by the strikers.¹

The average of losses sustained by the workmen, in days and wages, was higher than that of preceding years, the days lost in each strike amounting to 3,209 on the average. The total, however, is 243,878, a very considerable figure. The strikes were declared as a result of different causes: insufficient wages, excessive hours, bad conditions of work.

Indeed, señores, this collective loss of labor, repeated over and over, involves obligations on the part of the public authorities, to diminish or eliminate its cause. We lack a law that will organize special insurance in order to reduce the ravages of strikes in economics and in the juridical order.

This, señores, is the reverse of the picture of Argentine greatness that I present to you. In it are outlined negative factors and economic evils. It might be easy perhaps to formulate a general reply by employing well known phrases to combat and to solve the complicated view of these facts.

However, if indeed prevision and assistance, with their institutions of benefit insurance and savings, meet the exigencies of life with happy results in Europe, among us, although we recognize their excellence, they can not be immediately effective in producing successful action by the government, and collective well-being. These institutions are the victims of psychological aberrations, because certain particularist tendencies set themselves against the mutual organizations; absurd egotisms reflect certain attitudes in which no one desires to reduce his importance, in order to continue to predominate in a little

group. Solidarity encounters this difficulty and it may not perhaps be overthrown without the preparation of economic reëducation. The dispersion of activities ought to be replaced by the confederation of energies.

We know well that parasitism is an infirmity rooted in all nations. Humanity nourishes in its bosom a great number of parasites, some at the expense of the family—from them I exclude children, as being personal capital in formation—and others at the expense of charity, whether it be public or private.

The abundant literature published on these questions involves likewise a study of correlative problems. One of them is harsh and inhuman, that is, the one that refers to the elimination of human beings in the daily struggle, with a view to selection or to relief. Only a perversion of morals, a lack of moral sense, can have directed attention to barrenness, with suggestions or advice regarding criminal means, in spite of their scientific label.

This topic, studied profoundly and set forth in pages of bald crudeness by Darwin and Malthus, injects into the discussion the differences of classes. As opposed to the implacable neo-Malthusian tendency it is necessary to set up the moral conception of "an accord for a better and easier existence," as against hatred is to be counterposed love. Simultaneously there is to be applied another conception, which is one of higher politics: "To increase all that which sustains life, to diminish whatever is a burden to it."

The phenomena described do not present the same intensity, nor do they develop in conditions of identical environment. The nature of certain of these elements of economic passivity being observed, some appear as if irremediable, while others ought to give rise to an energetic social action tending to their complete extirpation. State and private action may unite equally in a solution. This solution should unquestionably be in the form of organized institutions.

An interesting theory regarding the need for the maximum distribution of wealth, united with the greatest stability and equality in the division of it, has been

¹The result was favorable to the strikers in 19 cases, unfavorable in 46, and partial in 12. Three conflicts remain pending.

formulated by European thinkers. Eminent economists have demonstrated that the crises of overproduction have given origin to belief in the superabundance of wealth, just as they have also revealed that freedom of appropriation is the best means of increasing fortunes in behalf of the general welfare.

The pessimistic thesis of Marx, according to which inequality is ceaselessly aggravated by a polarization that accumulates more wealth at the top and more misery at the bottom, does not seem to be confirmed by the facts. Absurd, on the other hand, is the idea of equal distribution, a simplistic idea, a very diversion of children. Argentine wealth is estimated at some thirty-four billion pesos, national money.¹ Let us divide it according to the population of the country, and the quotient yields 3,400 pesos for each person. Popular socialism can not deny that this is a ridiculous solution. The distribution would enrich no one; it is as if we should demolish mount Aconcagua and distribute its immense mass over the surface of our territory. We should barely raise the level of the soil by a few centimeters.

Let us rightly condemn vampire capitalism, but not capital, thus affecting the system of property and inheritance, which is perfectly legitimate, although retrograde. Among us, the working class does not remain isolated from the middle class, and, fortunately, on every new day the terms of Karl Marx's manifesto are inverted more favorably; capital is not concentrated in private hands, but property is democratized to such an extent that the proportion of the proletariat changed into small proprietors is incalculable.

Examining the statistics with a calm mind, we see proven in an indubitable manner that the distribution of wealth is improving, and that the national income reveals a greater number of moderate fortunes.

At present the republic contains 1,074,964 landowners, of whom 62 per cent. are Argentines. This fact is notable in our economy. In 1895 there were 407,503; wealth is therefore spreading

by mining little by little into the great country estates.

The economic welfare of the country, however, may not be judged by the absolute importance of wealth, as some erroneously affirm. The activity and passivity of its inhabitants are also a cardinal factor. Hence it is this that gives greater importance in the social question to the diffusion of work and to the stability and betterment of the conditions of laborers. The entire problem of the day is not merely fiscal. A government may not limit itself, in these circumstances, exclusively to playing the part of a collector, as has been recognized publicly by the eminent Spanish statesman, don Santiago Alba. It must be also a promotor—the most active, the most diligent, the most audacious, if you will—of public wealth, because it does not concern it simply to accumulate treasure; it must also strengthen and tone up the country.

I do not ask for programs, in the presence of the European history that draws us after it: programs that would have to be received with caution by discreet men, sceptical in the presence of marvelous formulas, Sibylline prescriptions or bureaucratic thaumaturgy. The political function must be embellished and invigorated by a profound ethical sense. The war has indicated a national vacuum: the want of positive independence. Nothing then is more urgent than a political economy of intensification in order that we may become sufficient unto ourselves, by guaranteeing to the industries and commerce a certain stability.

Let us augment, in view of the condition of passivity which I have explained to you, the demand for work in order to offset the excess of the supply. The private owners of great sums deposited in banks ought themselves to proceed *to create work*. It is not sufficient to prohibit idleness and vagrancy by making them crimes; it is necessary to assure work in order to obviate the excuse. The employment of capital in the industries affords an exceptional opportunity, all the more in view of its larger production and the absence of competition by foreign capital.

Industrial exploitation has a very slight

¹About \$15,980,000,000, gold.—THE EDITOR.

development in comparison with the wealth and general conditions of the country. I do not assume to belittle the enterprise displayed in recent times, but I doubt if our industrial system has the necessary strength to create an era of continuous prosperity in the future.

In the desire to refrain from all theoretical ideas, for the sake of brevity, and appreciating the much that could be said regarding insurance, in respect of its being an effective remedy for the ills of human life, I prefer to speak in outline, showing that of all the known systems, the plan of compulsory insurance is the most advantageous.

Social institutions, called upon to accomplish an immense undertaking, will obtain their triumph if they can depend upon two elements: professional organization aided by ample liberty, and legislation placed at the service of contractual relations, to uphold rights and to protect their exercise.

The problem requires time, and, as it is bound up with the social structure, the organized support of all is necessary, under the action of rules dictated by a sound moral conduct.

The policy that ought to prevail to-day is that of man as the brother of man, it being borne in mind that the antagonism that produces social danger is not, as Schmoller reminds us, the antagonism of fortune, but that of culture and education.

In this epoch of democracy it is trivial to speak of governing classes. Among us there exist only responsible classes—responsible for what we have wrongly omitted, and for indifference toward certain supreme problems! Society is not a mere abstraction; identified as it is with our organism, we ought to inform it with the essence of our own life.

The process is slow, without a doubt, but it will perfect the art of living in society by elevating the condition of the people. Misery, injustice and disease will be conquered. At least, we aspire to a sure future, or, as Gide says, to a more sublime justice than that which is symbolized by the scales of merchants.

It is out of date to speak of social policy as a mere question of benevolence, difficult

to adapt in costly efforts, without other norm than the dead letter of the codes. For it is a grave error to suppose that by simple decrees a ruler can substitute himself for the laws that obtain by working out notes of social clinic taken from nature like instantaneous photographs.

Inertia may be considered the most difficult force to dominate in peoples. Misery contributes powerfully to it. On the other hand, the active man increases his power for production much more rapidly than he himself is multiplied. In proportion as the percentage of laborious individuals increases, the progress of the country is greater. Thus England has increased its population only 62 per cent., while its power of production has risen to 138 per cent. The United States has decupled its production. Here you have the result of the improvement and stability of the conditions of laborers.

In truth, the laborer, like the man of salary, whether in commerce or in industry, ought to be protected, by being assured that he will not be left without resources in case of sickness or accident, and that he will also be aided in the preservation of his strength for work by setting a limit on the hours of work per day.

On the other hand, and independently of what has been set forth regarding other preventive and repressive means, it is well to plan in a formal manner for the fostering on the part of the government of every initiative that involves new industries, if it has already been pointed out as a necessity by means of the war; and also for favoring the development of the existing enterprises by means of industrial credit, properly speaking. It is idle to formulate the comprehensive details of this vast program, as it is public and well known, as in like manner are some of the stimulants designed to secure authorization, inasmuch as the country already practices it in its railway policy, a case in point being the guaranty of a minimum interest on the capital invested.

Our policy of production is wanting in sure and precise methods; its very finality gives rise to continuous divergence. The obstacles are perceived particularly in the

agrarian system, and nothing is done to reduce or to suppress these retarding forces, while at the same time the development of accelerating energies, which constitute the secret of economic victory, is forgotten.

Together we ponder the extreme disorder reigning in the multiplication of noble efforts spent in prevision and social aid, without securing their harmonized and unified direction, which no longer admits of postponement. Thus, while private individuals carry on their mission, the state in its modern economic function ought to tend to intergrate all the forces. Recently there has been made known a project by the talented deputy Dr. Melo, for reforms in the national constitution. Many and excellent are the modifications he seeks, and I think that, in view of the economic and social aspects of our problems, the agroupment of specialized functions might well be sought, by instituting, in imitation of France, the United States and other nations, a ministry of labor and social welfare.

At present the organs of the executive power that concern themselves with this operate in four ministries. Why then should they not be correlated?

We ought to continue to evolve, as with all justice the country may be recognized as having done up to the present, in a progressive manner.

A score of years, señores, has not been sufficient in the republic to complete the ideal of a noble and efficient action.

Neither the somnambulistic contemplations of highly excited imaginations—as one might say—nor resounding protests shape the sentiments of a collectivity. Reflection and a moral ideal in favor of the happiness of men will determine the juridico-social reform.

Here we see how our national constitution was ordained, decreed and established, in order, among other objects, *to promote general well-being*, that is to say, the elevation of human conditions by creating a respect for human rights.



SARMIENTO¹

BY

JOSÉ PACÍFICO OTERO

A comprehensive sketch of one of the greatest of the Argentines, with a somewhat detailed analysis of his most notable popular works, in which the statesman, the reformer, and the man of letters stands forth for our study, appreciation and emulation.—THE EDITOR.

AMONG Argentine authors, don Domingo Faustino Sarmiento is the most eminent and the most celebrated. He was born on February 15, 1811, at the moment in which the Argentine republic was beginning its crusade for freedom. His native city was San Juan, the capital of the three provinces that formed the region of Cuyo during the period of Spanish rule.

At the age of five years he read aloud, fluently and, according to what he himself declares, he believed in his talent "as the proprietor does in his money or a soldier in his deeds of war."

In the *school of the Patria*² he always held the first place. He retained admirably whatever he read; and this privileged memory permitted him, at such a tender age, to recite by heart entirely and without any variation the history of Robinson.³

The exigencies of politics caused the priest don José de Oro, Sarmiento's patron in literary studies, to emigrate to the province of San Luis in 1824. This event removed the student Sarmiento from the *school of the Patria*, and he, in order not to leave his Maecenas, decided to share with him his exile. He says:

Don José the priest took me to school at his side; he taught me Latin; I accompanied him to his exile at San Luis; and we loved each

other so much—teacher and pupil—we had so many talks, he speaking and I listening to him with rapture, that to relate only one of them I think would make a discourse it would take two years to deliver. My intelligence was molded under the impress of his mind, and to him I owe my turn for public life, my love for liberty and for my country, and my consecration to whatever pertains to it, from which I could never be weaned, either by poverty or exile, during an absence of many years. I came from his hands with my reason formed at fifteen years. Venturesome like him, brooking no absolute commands, knightly and vain, as honest as an angel, with notions regarding many things, loaded with facts, memories, histories of the past and of what was then the present, which enabled me afterward to follow with ease the trend and the spirit of events, to become impassioned for the good, to read and write hard and rapidly, so that the newspaper press would not find me unprovided with stores for the lavishment of ideas and thoughts which it demands.⁴

During Sarmiento's stay with Father Oro in the province of San Luis the two lived in the department called San Francisco del Monte. Master and pupil became horticulturists and floriculturists, and they decided to found a school. Sarmiento, who was only fifteen years of age, had among his pupils youths of more than twenty. This tranquil life was interrupted in 1826 by Sarmiento's returning to his native city. The governor of San Juan was to send young men from that province to Buenos Aires to enter the school of Moral Sciences which Rivadavia had just established, and he desired to include Sarmiento among the favored. The jealousy of certain rich persons forced the government to change the procedure, and the initial selection was by lot. Chance did not favor the

¹This article was published originally in the February number of *La Revue*, of Paris, whence we have taken it because it refers to one of the most illustrious representatives of the Latin-American race.—Note of the editor of *La Reforma Social*.

²Such was the name of the school founded in 1816 in the city of San Juan by the professors Ignacio and José Genaro Rodriguez, natives of Buenos Aires.

³The author evidently refers to Robinson Crusoe.—THE EDITOR.

⁴Sarmiento: *Obras*, vol. iii, p. 69.—THE EDITOR.

one who merited this honor more than any other, and Sarmiento, by a fatal destiny, was deprived of the prospect of entering the school of Moral Sciences at the same time that he was separated from his master and from his environment of instruction at San Francisco del Monte.

This adversity disturbed his relatives and it was the cause of his entrance into a commercial house. The first days were days of profound sadness for him. He was homesick for San Francisco del Monte, he missed the lessons of his master, his conversations, "the recollections of that oral rain, which every day descended upon his soul, and seemed to him like the illustrations of a book the meaning of which we comprehend by the attitude of the figures."

Although this environment was not the most propitious for his intellectual development, he knew how to contrive, and, setting himself to look for books, he found the *Catecismo de Ackerman*, which enabled him to study the history of the Orient. His youthful spirit was filled with joy when he understood about the Nile and the pyramids; when he learned the degree of civilization achieved by Persia; and when the historical life of Greece and Rome permitted him to repeat the names of Leonidas, Brutus, Aristides, Camillus, Epaminondas.

At night, in his house, he occupied himself with reading the Bible, and he had as a commentator his uncle, Father Albarracín. Sarmiento read the Bible from Genesis to the Apocalypse, but this reading and the comments that followed it had this characteristic: whatever Albarracín read as white, Sarmiento read as black. He finished this religious but liberal education with the study of the *Natural Theology* of Paley and the *Evidences of Christianity* by the same author, and the works of Feijóo.¹

In 1829 he began to study French. A soldier of Napoleon, ignorant of the grammar of his language, and who did not speak Spanish, was the corrector of his first efforts. "I have employed," he says, "fourteen consecutive years in order to learn to pronounce French, which I did not speak until 1846, after my arrival in France."

In 1833, a commercial employee in Valparaíso, he studied English, and in 1837, upon his return to San Juan, he began to study Italian. He familiarized himself with Portuguese in 1842, during the time he was editing *El Mercurio* in Chile. "I have taught French to many," he says, "for the purpose of spreading good reading."

The knowledge of these languages enabled him to penetrate and to know profoundly the philosophical, political, scientific and literary ideas of his epoch.

The dramatic alternations of Argentine society influenced the destiny of Sarmiento in a transcendent manner.

After the revolution of May, two parties were the arbiters of all events: one of them was called *unitary* and the other *federal*. The battle of Chacón being won by Quiroga and consequently by the federalists, led by the malign genius of Rosas, all the region of Cuyo fell beneath the sway of the conqueror, about 1831.

The family of Sarmiento was unitary, and it followed, like the more cultivated portions of the society of San Juan, the politics of Rivadavia. It was obliged to abandon its penates and take refuge in Chile, crossing the cordillera of the Andes by the barranco de Zonda.

In Chile Sarmiento did not remain inactive. From the city of Putaendo, where he first resided, he passed to that of Los Andes, and there the professor of San Francisco del Monte directed a municipal school. A conflict compelled him to leave the city, and he set out for Procuro, where he installed himself as an innkeeper. He did not win success in his new calling, and he decided to go to Valparaíso. In that Chilean city he served as a clerk in a business house, and then

¹Friar Benito Jerónimo Feijóo y Montenegro (1701-1764): a celebrated Spanish writer and a priest of the Benedictine order, of which he became the master general; he was the author of many works, his *Teatro crítico universal* being published in 8 volumes, and his *Cartas eruditas*, in 5, the two collections consisting of works and articles covering a wide range of subjects: astronomy, geography, law, philosophy, ethics, history, criticism, folk-lore.—THE EDITOR.

he went to work in La Colorada mine, near Copiapó, and after three years of rough labor, and in consequence of a cerebral attack which endangered his life, he decided to go back to his own country.¹

The return of Sarmiento to San Juan coincided with the liberative propaganda in Buenos Aires by Echeverría and the other founders of the association of May.

Upon his arrival, he hastened to attach himself to this association, and, with the help of compatriots who cherished the same ideal, he founded *El Zonda* and *La Sociedad Literaria*.

Benavides, the governor of San Juan, learned in time of the ties that secretly united the conspirators of San Juan to those of Buenos Aires, and in order to strangle this conspiracy in its cradle he banished the proselytes.

In 1840 Sarmiento again crossed the cordillera, went to Valparaíso, published in *El Mercurio*, under a pseudonym, a fulminating article against the tyranny of Rosas, and a little later he founded and directed *El Nacional*, the first daily of Santiago.

Up to 1845 his pen and his brain did not cease to labor in behalf of American progress. In this militant action was revealed the educator, journalist, man of letters, and, if we may be permitted to make use of a metaphor, the most potent catapult against tyranny.

Among the Argentine emigrants who struggled in Montevideo, Bolivia and Chile for the liberation of their country, none castigated the tyrant with more violence than the young Sarmiento.

About this time he edited *El Heraldo Argentino*, devoted exclusively to combating the dictator. He undertook, with Vicente Vidal López, the editing of *El Progreso*, and he wrote the *Vida de Aldao y de Facundo* (Life of Aldao and of Facundo), a book that definitely laid the foundation of his literary fame, both in the Old World and the New.

As Lugones says:

At the same time he founded by order of the minister Montt² the first normal school of

¹"He denominated himself an unworthy major-domo of La Colorada," according to Lugones. "Indeed, he attended more to the mine of his brain."

South America. He discussed victoriously with Bello and the jurists regarding the literary form of romanticism; he simplified orthography and translated several works of instruction. During the years of 1846 and 1847 he traveled in Europe, Algeria and the United States, establishing relations with the principal statesmen and writers, and he ended by belonging to the institute of France.

"I can presume," says Sarmiento, "to have been very happy in my excursion, since I was able to associate with the most notable men of the period."

He conversed with Guizot, Thiers, Cobden, de Lesseps, Dumas, Ventura de la Vega, the Baron von Humboldt, Mérimée, Pius IX and San Martín.

On entering the historic institute of France, Sarmiento presented a memoir entitled *Estudio político sobre San Martín y Bolívar y sobre la guerra de independencia en la América del Sur* (A Political Study upon San Martín and Bolívar, and upon the War of Independence in South America).

The personality of San Martín, as well as that of Bolívar, the theater of the war of Independence and the proportions of that drama of freedom are studied and expounded in a masterly way. He made minute analysis of the conference of Guayaquil, added to the discussion San Martín's letter to Bolívar, in which are related the episodes of that intimate drama, and he concluded that:

The abdication of Charles V and his voluntary retirement to a cloister were no greater sacrifices nor founded upon more powerful motives. This emperor, wearied, had beheld his ambition satisfied; he could deliver himself completely to his religious ideas, since he left a well founded monarchy, and one upon which, from the depths of his convent, he still kept his eyes open.

San Martín abdicated in the flower of his age and he renounced his future when he was still at the middle of his work, so happily and gloriously begun. Master of the field in which must be decided the war of Independence, he

²Manuel Montt, a Chilean statesman (1809-1880): successively the director of the instituto de Santiago, minister of the corte de Justicia, a deputy, president of the congress, minister of the interior and of the state, and, finally, president of the republic (1851-1861). Many notable improvements in all the branches of industry and public instruction were effected during his administration.—THE EDITOR.

drowned all that the human heart could possess of the nobly egotistic to yield to another a certain glory, in order to retire from public affairs, that he might deliver to his rival an army recruited by himself, which he had commanded for ten years and which he had taught victory; and as a victim he was going to live obscure among a people who knew him not and run the risk of a mediocre position in a foreign land. This act of abdication, free and premeditated, is the last manifestation of the ancient virtues that shone in the aurora of the revolution of American Independence.¹

Upon his return from Europe, Sarmiento continued to write in attack of the tyrant and in favor of education. Like Mitre and other famous Argentines, he presented himself to Urquiza,² the commander-in-chief of the army of liberation, and this general gave into his charge the editorship of the army bulletin.

"From this fact," writes one of his biographers, "there resulted something that Urquiza could not have expected: the critical history of the war; the campaign of the great army. In no Argentine book, with the exception of the *Memorias* (Memoirs) of Paz, did the style and observation of the soldier stand out more typically."

After Caseros,³ and because of a disagreement with Urquiza, Sarmiento again returned to Chile. In 1852 he renounced the deputyship for Buenos Aires and was elected for the province of San Juan. The governor, Benavides, obedient to the policy of Urquiza, annulled the election. In 1855 he left Chile, and was elected deputy for San Juan, an office that he immediately declined, and upon arriving at Buenos Aires, he assumed the direction of *El Nacional*.

Later he founded *El Censor*, and was nominated senator for the province of Buenos Aires; he wrote his *Comentarios a la constitución*; and he directed, as governor, the province of San Juan. He ascended to the presidency of the republic

after Mitre; and, when the empire of Brazil undertook to change, because of its territorial ambitions, the character of the war which the triple alliance (Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil) had made upon the tyrant López, and not upon the Paraguayan nation, his government sustained this principle, the basis of political equality, that victory gives no right.⁴

Sarmiento was the minister of the republic in Chile and in the United States; his mission in North America gave him continental renown. He frequented the savants, the philosophers, the educators and the poets; he was a member of five pedagogical congresses, and the government did him the honor to ask him to preside over the national congress.

In 1875 he was elected senator for the province of San Juan and director general of schools of the province of Buenos Aires. His spirit of innovation knew no bounds. In Córdoba he inaugurated the first exposition of the republic. In Buenos Aires he proceeded to the creation of the botanical garden, the zoological institute and the park of Palermo. He founded the agricultural schools of Mendoza and of San Juan, the astronomical observatory in Córdoba, and the military and naval schools in Buenos Aires. He was the protector of animals; he established the museum of natural history, the direction of which he confided to the learned Burgmeister; he inaugurated in the republic the cult of the tree; he organized the commission of popular libraries; he fostered the exploration of the forests of Tucumán; and he directed public attention to the enchantments and riches of the islands of the Delta.

At the same time that he was occupied in all these subjects, he read, wrote, disputed and put forth the efforts of a

⁴This doctrine of Sarmiento's, which is the Argentine doctrine, has strict application to the present. This aphorism is only the logical consequence that springs from the difference in concept that must always exist between law and force. A victory may confer advantages but not rights. Rights are inherent in reason and never in force.

The insurrection of the American colonies would not have been possible, if the reason for their existence had depended upon the force of those who dominated them. To the victory of their despots they opposed the right to liberty.

¹*L'Investigateur*, publication de l'Institut Historique, 1847, vol. VII. p. 401.

²See INTER-AMERICA for April, 1918, p. 248, footnote.—THE EDITOR.

³A battle fought between the party of patriotism and reconstruction and the tyrant Rosas, in 1852, when Rosas was finally overthrown.—THE EDITOR.

giant to renew the organisms of the republic. He knew the republic was in need of work, industry and religious liberalism; whence his active and constant effort in behalf of education, and it is on this account that he is called the first apostle of primary education in Argentina.

In like manner also he was a seer. He foresaw the future greatness of his country. He therefore desired to bring to it savants, industrials, schoolmasters, and therefore also he longed to see it supplied with machinery, railways, banks, books.

The following anecdote, as related by one of his biographers, will confirm what we say:

In 1885 there was discussion in the congress at Buenos Aires regarding a guaranty of seven per cent. on a capital of 800,000 pesos, which a railway company proposed to invest in the construction of a line between San Fernando and Buenos Aires. The representatives considered this sum excessive. Sarmiento deemed it so small as to be ridiculous; and he asserted that the Argentine railways would soon be worth, not 800,000 pesos, but 8,000,000 (*Laughter of incredulity*). The orator became inflamed and cried with provocative conviction: "Eighty millions!" (*New shouts of laughter*). "Eight hundred millions!" (*Roars of Homeric laughter*). Then Sarmiento, furious: "I request the stenographers to make record of this hilarity in the minutes. I wish the generations of the future to appreciate my unshakable confidence in the progress of my country; and at the same time (*sweeping the seats with a contemptuous glance*) with what kind of men I have had to contend."

The railways of Argentina now represent a capital of a thousand millions.

Sarmiento died in Asunción, Paraguay, September 11, 1888. A few moments before his death he said to his grandson: "Place me in the easy chair so that I can see the sun come up." Before dawn appeared, this Argentine genius was dead.

The complete works of Sarmiento were published in Buenos Aires, in fifty-two volumes, octavo. In this collection are to be found his labors as an educator, polemic, statesman, legislator, orator and man of letters. This last aspect of his personality is the one we desire to evoke. We shall attempt an analysis of his two

masterpieces: *Facundo* and *Recuerdos de provincia* (Provincial Recollections).

In the opinion of Lugones,¹ these two works are our *Iliad* and our *Odyssey*. The second of them, the more serious and finished, represents, with *Facundo*, an effort, certainly achieved, at producing a purely Argentine literary work. According to Rojas²

the original power of this book (*Facundo*) lies in the association established by Sarmiento between his hero, the geographical environment and the urgent problem of national organization. There is in *Facundo* something like a stratification of different orders of ideas visible in the intimate structure of this book.

I discover a biographical element, composed of what Sarmiento attributes to Quiroga and to Rosas; a political element, which consists of what he wrote regarding the unitaries and federalists; a sociological element, made up of what he set forth regarding civilization and American barbarism.

Facundo therefore may not be read without a key. This consists of knowing that the book was a work of inspiration; that the author wrote it, as he himself says in a letter to Alsina³,

¹Leopoldo Lugones, an Argentine man of letters and an historian: he is the author of: in verse, *Las montañas del oro*, *Los crepúsculos del jardín*, *Lunario sentimental*, *Odas seculares*, *El libro de los paisajes*; in prose, *La reforma educacional*, *El imperio jesuítico*, *La guerra gaucha*, *Las fuerzas extrañas*, *Piedras liminares*, *Prometeo*, *Didáctica*, *El payador*, *el hijo de la pampa*, *Mi beligerancia*. *Historia de Sarmiento*. The author refers above to the last of these. An English version of this work is shortly to be published as one of the volumes of the *Inter-America Library*.—THE EDITOR.

²Ricardo Rojas: professor of literature in the universidad de La Plata, Argentina; man of letters; author of the following works: in verse, *La victoria del hombre*, *Los lisis del blasón*, *La sangre del sol*, *Los cantos de Perséphone*; in prose, *El país de la selva*, *Cosmópolis*, *El alma española*, *Cartas de Europa*, *Blasón de plata*, *La restauración nacionalista*, *La universidad de Tucumán*, *La argentinidad*, *La ronda de la muerte* (stories), *Caliope* (discourses and lectures), *La literatura argentina*, which promises to be one of his chief works, and which is to consist of four volumes, as follows: I, *Los gauchescos*; II, *Los coloniales*; III, *Los proscritos*; IV, *Los modernos*. Of these, I and II have been published, III is on the press, and IV is in preparation. He has also directed the following works: *Archivo capitular de Jujuy*, 3 volumes, *Bibliografía de Sarmiento*, *Poesías de Cervantes*, *Biblioteca Argentina*, 18 volumes.—THE EDITOR

³Don Valentín Alsina, to whom Sarmiento wrote intimately from Yunguay under date of April 1, 1851.—THE EDITOR.

far from the theater of events and with the design of securing an immediate and militant action.

In the preface to the first edition he said:

If certain inaccuracies escape me, I beg those who chance upon them to communicate them to me, for in *Facundo Quiroga* I do not behold merely a leader, but an expression of Argentine life, such as colonization and the peculiarities of the land have made it.

It may be seen then how, in the thought of the author, *Facundo*, as a personage, has no importance; it is *Facundo*, as a myth, who animates and enriches the scene. The present generations have come to comprehend this truth, and such is the ground on which the *Facundo* of Sarmiento, in spite of its defects, will always be the first Argentine book, as the *Don Quijote* of our historical literature.

The first edition of this work was published in Chile in 1845,¹ and it comprised, besides the life of *Facundo*, the life of Aldao. It bore as a title: *Civilización y barbarie* (Civilization and Barbarism.)

Eight months afterward it was translated into French, and in 1846 Charles de Majade devoted to it an extended study in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.²

According to the French critic:

It was during his residence in Santiago, before

his trip to Europe, that Sarmiento wrote and published this work, new and filled with attractions, instructive as a history, interesting as a novel, brilliant with imagery and color. *Civilización y barbarie* is not, indeed, merely one of the rare specimens of the intellectual life of southern America that come to us; it is yet more, a precious document; it is a living picture of the revolutions of the Argentine republic which are, as it were, a résumé of all the American struggles. The frame selected by Sarmiento is appropriate; he has painted the physical aspect, the soil, in its picturesque austerity; he has described first the theater before following the terrible drama that is unfolded in it, above all, before delineating the tempestuous existence of those heroes of slaughter and rapine, of all those savage passions, of that *gaucho* who prepared for the coming of another more fortunate *gaucho*, *Facundo Quiroga*, of whom Rosas was the legitimate successor. Without a doubt passion dictated more than one of these vigorous scenes; but there is in his talent, even when inflamed by passion, I know not what fund of impartiality from which he was not able to free himself, and with its aid he leaves to the personages their true character and to things their real colors.

Facundo is divided into three parts: in the first part Sarmiento presents a geographical study of the Argentine soil; he describes the *rastreador*,³ the *baqueano*,⁴ the *gaucho malo*,⁵ the *cantor*,⁶ he tells us

the Tyrants; or, Civilization and Barbarism, from the Spanish of Domingo F. Sarmiento, LL.D., Minister Plenipotentiary from the Argentine Republic to the United States, with a Biographical Sketch of the Author. This translation is now somewhat rare.—THE EDITOR.

³According to the description of Sarmiento, a grave, mysterious, respected, dreaded and all but uncanny trailer, a sort of human sleuth-hound, whose function it was to seek out fugitives, unearth crime, etc.—THE EDITOR.

⁴A human map or guide, proficient above all other men in the knowledge "inch by inch of twenty thousand leagues of prairies, mountains and forests," a reserved, modest and trustworthy *gaucho* who accompanied the commanding officer, was in the secret of the campaign and performed so considerable a part that success or failure was not a little dependent upon his efficiency and good faith.—THE EDITOR.

⁵Squatter, outlaw: a misanthrope, sought by justice, but not wholly disesteemed by chance acquaintances.—THE EDITOR.

⁶A troubador or wandering minstrel who went from scene to scene and from contending party to contending party, "singing his heroes of the pampas pursued by justice, the griefs of the widow whose children are carried off by the Indians," etc.—THE EDITOR.

¹The second edition was published in Chile in 1851, both this edition and the first following the Chilean orthography, of which Sarmiento was one of the promoters; the third edition was published in New York in 1868; the fourth, in 1874 in Paris, upon the elevation of Sarmiento to the presidency of Argentina.—THE EDITOR.

²The title-page of the French version bears: *Civilisation et Barbarie.—Moeurs, Costumes, Caractères des peuples argentins. Facundo Quiroga et Aldao. Par Domingo F. Sarmiento. Traduit de l'espagnol et enrichi de notes, par A. Giroud, enseigne de vaisseau. Paris. Arthur Deshaud, éditeur. Librairie de la Société de Géographie, rue Hautefeuille, 1853.*

Facundo was done into German by Edouard Wapauß, a professor in the university of Göttingen; into English by the wife of Horace Mann; and into Italian by Fontána de Filippis.—Author's note.

According to Ricardo Rojas (*Noticia preliminar* to his edition of *Facundo*, published in the *Biblioteca Argentina* of which he was the director), the German translation was made by Johann Eduard Wapoeus; the Italian, by Fontana de Philipps; and he gives the name of the author of the article published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* as Mazade.

The English version of Mrs. Horace Mann was published in New York in 1868, with the following title: *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of*

what the *pulperia*¹ is; and he ends with an exposition of the revolution of 1810.

The desert and the life of the *gaucho*, in this savage environment, supply him not only with motives for writing pages of admirable color, but even more for extracting conclusions that magnify the sentiment of patriotism.

It is necessary to see those who are Spanish by language only and by the confused religious ideas they preserve, to know how to appreciate the indomitable and haughty characters that spring up in this struggle of isolated man with savage nature, of the rational being with the brute; it is necessary to see those faces covered with beard, those grave and serious countenances, like those of the Asiatic Arabs, in order to judge of the compassionate disdain with which they are filled by the sedentary man of the cities, who may have read many books, but who does not know how to bring down a fierce bull and slaughter him, who would not be able to provide himself with a horse in the open country, on foot and without the aid of any one, who has never halted a tiger, receiving him with the dagger in one hand and the poncho wrapped about the other, to thrust it in his mouth, while he pierces him through the heart and leaves him stretched at his feet. This habit of overcoming obstacles, of showing himself superior to nature, of challenging and conquering her, prodigiously develops the feelings of individual importance and superiority.

The Argentines, of whatsoever kind they may be, cultivated or ignorant, have an exalted consciousness of their own worth as a nation: all the American peoples charge them with this vanity, and are offended by their presumption and arrogance.

The personality of Facundo Quiroga fills the second part of the book. Sarmiento introduces us to him scouring the plains of the Rioja, the conqueror of La Madrid in Tela; he fights with Paz until Paz overthrows him at the Tablada; he seeks revenge at Oncativo, triumphs at Chacón; then at Ciudadela "he drives beyond the frontiers of the

republic the last supporters of the unitary system."

This second part terminates with the tragedy of barranca Jaco, in which Quiroga falls slain by the bullets of Santos Pérez and his henchmen.

Facundo was short and thick-set in stature; his broad back supported upon a short neck a well formed head, covered with very dense hair, black and curly. His slightly oval face was sunk in a forest of hair; to this corresponded an equally thick beard, equally black and stiff, which extended to his cheek-bones, sufficiently pronounced to reveal a firm and tenacious will.

His black eyes, full of fire and shadowed by heavy eyebrows, caused an involuntary sensation of terror in those who might some time chance to gaze at him, for Facundo never came face to face with any one, and, from habit, from art or from a desire always to make himself terrible, he ordinarily carried his head bent low and he looked through his eyebrows, like the Ali Baba of Montvoisin.

The third part consists of two chapters. In one of them he presents a study of the government of Rosas and gives his opinion regarding the future of the republic.

Of the three parts that form the book, the second is the richest in sensations; in it we witness the gallop of the horsemen, we hear the shock of lances; we behold what terror is in the frightened towns, and we comprehend, in a word, how doleful and cruel the Argentine organization was in its democratic gestation.

Recuerdos de provincia is one of the most delicate works of Sarmiento. There are in it pages filled with unction, as well as others in which the burlesque spirit predominates.

The provincial life, which, above everything, has its roots in the colonial past, fills the background of the picture. Sarmiento's pen is therefore pictorial and anecdotal. Across the pages of *Recuerdos de provincia* file lawyers, governors, soldiers, ecclesiastics, monks, historians; there may be seen what colonial San Juan was—with its domestic religion and simple faith. The very personality of the

¹Argentine for the Castilian *abacería* or the Mexican *tienda de abarrotes*, a general provision and grocer's shop, where "is given and received news of stray animals; on the floor are traced the brands of cattle; where the tiger hunts is learned, and where traces of the lion have been seen; races are made up and the best horses are known," etc.—THE EDITOR.

author is seen incarnate in them, above all at the dawn of childhood; and when he speaks to us of the mother and of the paternal home, he tells us things that will be eternally beautiful. "The mother," he says, "is for man the personification of Providence, is the living earth to which the heart clings as the roots do to the ground."

In the chapter on the paternal home, he relates with moving words the story of a fig-tree. In his desire to renovate everything, Sarmiento had proposed to himself to cut down a patriarchal fig-tree which, from his infancy, he had known filled with fruit, but at that moment already discolored and knotty. Although he knew this tree was for his mother a precious object, the spirit of reform prevailed over filial love, and one day the fig-tree fell beneath the ax of a woodman. Regarding it, Sarmiento writes:

That was one of the saddest of moments, a scene of grief and repentance. The blows of the *ficicide*¹ ax fell also upon the heart of my mother, the tears showed in her eyes, like the sap of the tree released by the wound, and her sobs corresponded to the quivering of the leaves; each new blow brought a fresh outburst of sorrow; and my sisters and I, repentant over having caused so deep pain, fell to weeping, the only reparation possible for the damage begun.

Two hours afterward the fig-tree lay upon the ground, showing its whitish top, while the leaves, withering, gave view of the gnarled skeleton of that structure which for so many years had contributed its share in support of the family.

Sarmiento was an eminently personal writer. He obeyed only the canons of his inspiration. According to him, literature was life, that life which signified merri-ment, laughter, youth. He introduced these elements into his prose. He let it flow freed from the classic shackles, and,

respecting what there is or the eternal in classicism, he gave to American speech the coloring of a new civilization.

He was a psychologist and a landscapist.

On May 25, 1900, the monument to him, chiseled by Rodin, was unveiled in the park of Palermo. This production has merited harsh criticisms; it has, nevertheless, its admirers. Miguel Cané, charged by the death of Aristobulo del Valle with making the French sculptor feel the greatness of the genius he was going to model, writes:

the sculptor has sought to symbolize in the motion of the body, in the energy of the attitude, in the very idealization of the look, the extraordinary life of the hero whose glory his vigorous chisel was to sing. Above are action and virile and subjugating impetuosity; below, in the allegory, in the genial figure that separates the clouds with arms strong and elegant, in order to rise resplendent entoning a hymn to the light, is the final triumph, after a long struggle against ignorance, against vice and against barbarism and crime.

Lugones recognizes that the public is right when it says: "This is not the head of Sarmineto." According to Lugones:

From this elemental bronze, from this divine Apollo, in his heroic beauty as a struggler for light, it is necessary to remove a defect, to change the head of the statue in order to give it the frontal physiognomy which was without doubt that of Sarmiento. In this manner would disappear this predominance of the profile that defines it.

For the Argentine peoples the name of Sarmiento symbolizes an ideal: the ideal of education and progress. If Mariano Moreno was the apostle of political democracy, Sarmiento was the apostle of intellectual democracy. He fought barbarism in all its forms; he made evident the virility of a new race for civilization; whence the general sympathy and admiration provoked for his labors. After San Martín, Sarmiento is the Argentine personage of greatest fame among the Latin republics of the New World.

¹Fig-tree-killing: a word coined after the Spanish *biguericida*, a playful adjective created by Sarmiento.—THE EDITOR.

LINKS FROM THE CHAIN

BY

ENRIQUE JOSÉ VARONA

An illustration of the type of epigram and sententious proverb in which Spanish literature abounds and to the expression of which the language lends itself with particular felicity. Some of the paragraphs are especially pertinent at the present moment.—THE EDITOR.

HISTORY may be reduced to remote, vague and tenuous indications of something that might have happened.

*

If it is so difficult for us to understand that which is taking place in our midst, of which we are witnesses, so to speak, what shall we say of that which recedes from us, and, all the more, the farther it recedes?

*

Seek the truth, not in what a man says, but in what he does.

*

We ought to go forward always, but frequently turning the head to look back of us. This is the idea I have of human progress (1874).

The trouble is that many have remained with their heads hopelessly twisted backward (1917).

*

Morality is not taught, it is inoculated.

*

It is a sarcasm to say that a people enjoys liberty where the reputation, tranquility and life of citizens are at the mercy of political passions.

*

Our political life: has it been progressive? Yes; a progressive puddle.

*

Religion is not truth, but consolation.

*

Every million which we receive as a loan is a link in our galley-slave's chain to a foreigner.

*

The lame have decreed the universal need of crutches.

A brief new dialogue between the metaphysician and a physicist:

"In my opinion, our relations with the United States constitute a problem of high policy."

"It seems to me to be one of mechanics: a problem of high pressure."

*

Let those seek conciliation who are engaged in squaring circles.

*

The policy of Spain in Cuba has always reminded me of the Celtic myth of Gwendolyn's chess-board, whose black pieces played by themselves against the white pieces.

*

Virtue is not obedience, but choice.

*

The ancient historians had marvelous eyes. Juba saw elephants praying to the gods. The modern ones do not see marvels: they invent them.

*

"I did a favor to X."

"Good. . Then do another to yourself. Forget it."

*

I thought as a youth that in order to know life it was sufficient to read in our own heart. Since then I have observed that we make several editions of this book; and each of them with additions, suppressions and emendations.

*

Man is a spy by nature. What he changes is his field of observation. Some men look through the peep-hole of a telescope; others through the keyhole of a door.

Regarding the *Bacchus* attributed to Leonardo da Vinci, which is to be seen in the Louvre, some critics think it was first a Saint John the Baptist.

*

The individual: impalpable dust; society: a mountain of granite.

"But a bushel of wheat is composed of grains of wheat."

"It is not a question of cereals, but of men."

*

Political reforms? Why not? The sick man thinks he is better when he changes his position.

*

Our refined civilization has brought up at this exquisite conception of social life: the nation, all army; the army, all jaw.

The biologist will call it atavism; and the vulgar, a leap backward.

*

You ask the philosopher: "Do you know John, Peter, your neighbor?"

"I know man, the *genus homo*."

And he swells with pompousness.

*

When I think of the profound dissertations of the metaphysicians, from Plato, the eagle, to Bergson the lynx, there resounds inside of me with insistence this impertinent term: *words*; but immediately I right myself, and I add, now with tranquility: sublime words.

*

The point is not in making laws. We make them in a continuous torrent. Laws, however, are worth just what the men who apply them are worth.

*

We had vaccine, now we have an anti-toxin for rabies, another for tetanus, another for croup and one for phthisis is announced somewhere. Can not one be discovered that will cure us of the terrible legislative diathesis?

*

Of all superstitions, the one that has the most intricate ramifications is that of the power of speech. Now, because of the disaffection of many foreigners nationalized

in the United States, what has occurred to many patriots, in order to stimulate the unborn patriotism of the recalcitrants, is to teach them the native language. The traitor Arnold, did he not know English?

*

An astounding edifice is that of civilization! We are always laying its foundations.

*

Says Gibbon, in relating to us that Octavius retained the republican titles: "Augustus understood that men are governed by names."

"Gibbon, what trumpery!"

"Yes; the author is old; but the observation is eternal."

*

We take up the ruler, the compass, black ink and red, and we begin to trace beautiful geometrical figures in charming symmetry. When we have filled a thick drawing-book, we gently move the head, smile, and write on the title page, in our best handwriting: The Philosophy of History!

*

Of the political jargon in use in the United States, not a few names have traveled hither, like the swallows. There is, however, a good tongue-twister that has not crossed the canal, that of *mugwump*, applied thereabouts to those who presume to think with their heads.

It must be that on a stock as luxurious as ours these parasites do not take root.

*

The patience of a Benedictine? That was in other years. Now we must say: The patience of an aspirant to office.

*

Diplomatic language is the marvel of marvels, the twelfth marvel. In it a word has more facets than an icosahedron. The chancellor Michaelis has just solemnly declared that he stands for a peace without annexations, "as he understands it." How the oppressed and crushed Belgians must have dilated their lungs, as well as others that are not Belgians!

Travelers relate—what do not travelers relate?—that a certain African kingling had a prodigious whistle. He blew, and it rained; he blew again, and the sun came out.

We ought not to be too much surprised. Nearer to ourselves we see great chiefs of nations who, with a few flowing words, cause blood to flow in torrents, or the sun of peace to shine upon the earth.

The first of these appears to be a fable, but the second is history.

*

That French minister who said beatifically: "At this instant all the children of France are repeating the same lesson," was worthy of a colossal wooden statue, à la Hindenburg, to which every one of the children idiotised by his great system would go to drive a nail.

*

"What beauty is?—that I do not know," said Albert Dürer, while he caused it to spring into perfection with his brush and burin.

For the test is not in defining, but in feeling and executing.

*

The caricature of parliamentarism that is to be found in some prosperous countries seems very funny to us the civilized peoples. In the *palavers* of Kaffraria, when an orator exceeds his time, the chief limits himself to throwing his mace in front of the speaker, and he becomes dumb.

"In Kaffraria, do you say?"

"Yes, señor; in Kaffraria."

*

No education is possible until we convince ourselves that what is important and decisive is not what a man learns, but what he accomplishes. Life is action, not a lesson.

*

Do you wish to be a professor of virtue? Be the mirror of virtue.

*

Jacopo Ortis consoled himself in his misfortunes *col divino Plutarco*. Divine? The least superman that ever existed. He was plunged into humanity up to his eye-

brows. He never felt wings or dreams. Mediocrity elevated to the fifth power—that is what the divine Plutarch was.

*

I have just seen a recent epitaph in Ciceronian Latin. The Greeks put their inscriptions in Greek; the Latins put theirs in Latin. What plebeian people! They wrote and inscribed to be understood. They did not wait until some hooded doctor should come along to decipher them.

*

I am not an enemy of Prussian militarism: I am an enemy of militarism.

*

Before the startling cataclysms of nature, man feels his impotence, and he resigns himself; but in the presence of the ferocious purblindness that is devastating inch by inch the best regions of Europe the supremely civilized, what we feel is the immensity of human folly. Resignation has the flavor of complicity.

*

"Which are better, muscles or brains?"

"Neither muscles alone, nor brains alone; neither a Jack Johnson, all fists, nor a Saint Anthony, all spirit."

*

"The sun of honor will enlighten our misery," said a glorious warrior.

"And at night time the moon of Valencia," replied the skeptic.

Would it not be better to have done with astronomy, and cultivate our lettuce?

*

The great statesmen pass life untying Gordian knots, which the little statesmen proceed immediately to retie. The imbroglio is thus eternal.

*

The system of education for an infant is contained in a single command: Let him grow.

Let him: that is to say, neither goad or bridle.

*

When I think of all that man has believed and that he goes on believing, I am convinced that there is really something immeasurable, unfathomable, infinite: our

stulticity! Or if one wishes to soften it: our simplicity.

*

In the world of intelligence all is solidary, just as all is enchained in the physical world. The ravages occur in the realm of feeling.

*

Liberty? In the clouds. Equality? Beneath the earth. Fraternity? Nowhere.

*

The most genuine word of our language, the richest in meaning because of its adequateness and characteristicness: projector. In it is contained the whole course of the social history of Spain and what her empire was.

*

When we recall the furious imputations hurled at each other by the ancient philosophical schools, those that were next hurled at each other by the diverse religious communions and those that are hurled at each other to-day by the different political parties, we are reminded that it is an incurable malady—this collective defamation.

"And individual," adds one who is passing.

*

"In heaven we are free, we are equal, we are brothers."

"And the hierarchies, young neophyte? Of choruses of angels alone there are nine."

*

We went to visit a lady, prostrate with consumptive fever, and we found her so weak that she could not sit up; but we noticed that she had just finished rouging herself, and she was arranging the curls that escaped her coiffure.

To our comments one added:

"Well, I know a country on the bounds of starvation and plunged in the most formidable foreign war, whose politicians are burdened with the task of painting the lips and dyeing the hair of the constitution.

*

In order to make us swallow the bitter pill of war, it is called a school of heroism.

It is well to repeat that civil life offers a much greater field for abnegation: only that here the spring is always humanity, and in war it is the ambition of a prince or the triumph of a system.

*

We are somewhat limited in the affair of the senses. We lack the sense of orientation possessed by certain birds, and, above all, alas! the critical sense. Our capacity for believing the incredible is broader than the throat of Jonah's whale and stronger than the talons of the roc of the Arabian nonsense.

*

The disputes of the great theorists dizzy me so much at times that I am ready to believe that all logic might be reduced to this single precept: Define your terms; or, else: Tell us what it is you wish to say.

*

Those who are guilty of the Teutonic furor turn to the books of Nietzsche, and further back to those of Hartmann, and still further back to those of Schopenhauer, etc. If so diabolical an effort has been produced by half a dozen books, what has been the good of the thousands of pastors, priests of souls, canons, apostolic vicars, bishops, big-wigs of the cloth who swarmed and indoctrinated and preached, from Lutheran Prussia to Catholic Bavaria?

*

Minds hypnotized by the prestige of the past believe that art became stationery with Greece or Rome or Florence. They do not observe how human capacity for feeling and seeing has been enriched, nor how its means of expression have been refined. The most of ancient art consists in stammering and repeating.

*

Hear the burden of the Germans! Professor Plange has just said that the political ideal of the people goes beyond simple democracy. "It is liberty organized by coöperation." Let us translate. Regimentation under the vigilant eye of a good chief. The liberty of the barracks, mitigated by organized comfort.

Certainly. Man is a sower. He casts forth his grains by night, upon the sands, and with the winds.

*

Etymology? Archeology, ethnology and old clothes all in a heap.

*

A question of perspective. A great contemporary French author qualifies as superb and worthy of the Maccabees, the exclamation of a Moroccan Jew who rushed to bury his bayonet in the bowels of a German, *acclaiming the Eternal*. Merely savage, it seems to me.

It is true that the risk of the *revanche* is for the neighbor, while for me it is remote.

*

We are the pendulum that swings between yes and no; but the arc described is immense.

*

The malice or credulity of Herodotus caused him to say that in Egypt theft was subject to rules. From then until now, how many sagacious transformations! To-day we do not regulate theft: no, indeed. It is varnished, gilded, baptized and confirmed with other names, and it is announced solemnly upon its entrance into gilded salons.

*

Shakespeare says that death is perhaps a dream, and Calderón assures us that life is a dream. How much the poets know! Illusion or reality, however, it is certain that for the most of us this journey of life is a pretty tiresome journey, and death is a terminal but slightly attractive.

*

We cry out against the great cities, the tentacular cities; but there is a brutal fact that dominates and quenches our clamors: man poisons the air he breathes, and this air, like a powerful magnet, draws man.

*

Said Empedocles sententiously: "It is well to repeat useful words;" and with this passport, what a deluge of useless words has

swept over the world! Is there any one who does not believe that his are the height of utility?

*

How we have scoffed at docile Sieyès and his famous "I have lived!" To-day, when the world is trembling for all, not a few are those who would be satisfied to be able to thrust out their shattered heads from between the ruins, and say, like an echo: "And I also."

*

What makes a tyrant? The baseness of many and the cowardice of all.

*

The experience of ages tells us in an old Arabian poem: "Some fish, and others devour the fish." What a world of injustice is summed up in this trivial phrase! We shall have accomplished the greatest of reforms, when we shall have discovered an efficacious mode by which the same one who fishes shall be the one who does the eating.

*

Monsieur M. Barrès recounts that, in an ambulance, a dying man asked a crucifix of a rabbi, whom he was able to make out at his side. The rabbi requested one of a Catholic chaplain, and delivered it tenderly to the wounded man. A sublime trait of humanity, in the presence of which all sectarianism ought to be mute and humble.

*

How many contrary opinions and what formidable arguments to support them! "Then criticism is useless?"

"It is useless; but we shall go on criticizing."

*

In the foundation of liberty, all must be founders. Which means to say that the incarnation of liberty must take place in the spirit of the people. It is an incarnation that must proceed from below upward. If it flourishes only in the consciousness of the cultured, it turns out to be but an ephemeral plant: a beautiful orchid without roots.



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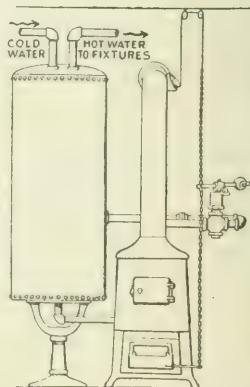
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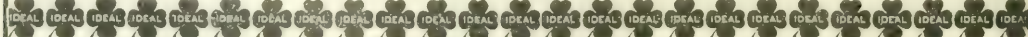
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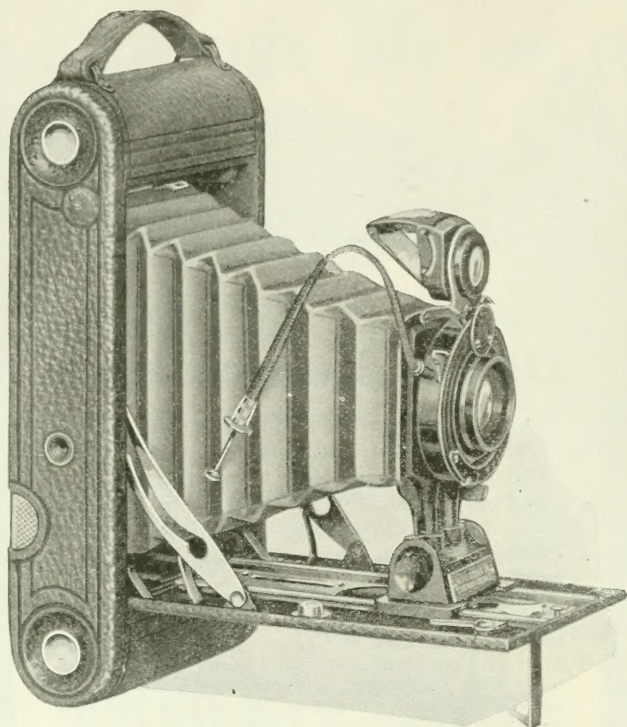
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